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Second Series

Selected works of Jawaharlal Nehru

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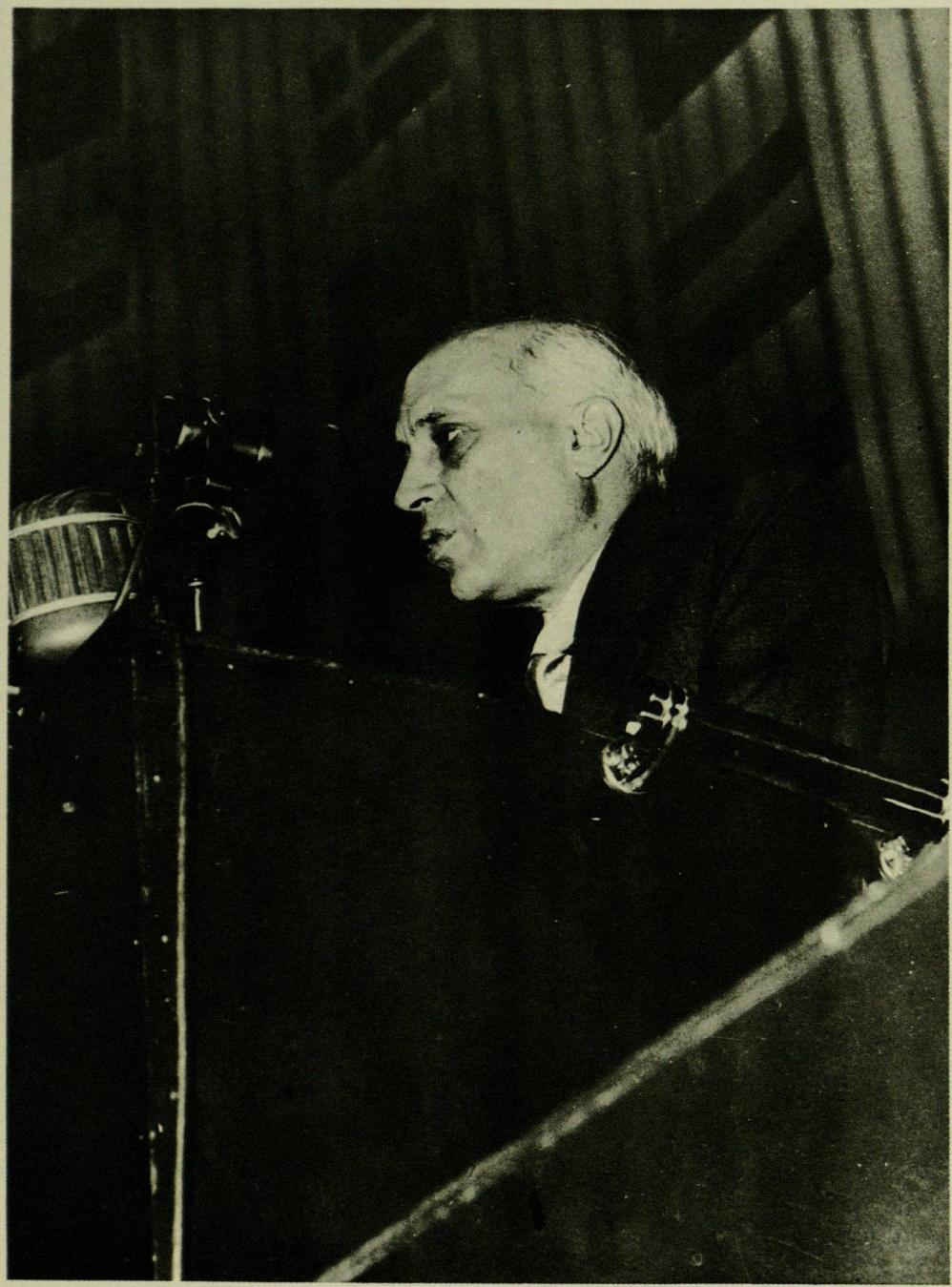
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A large, stylized signature of the name "Jawaharlal Nehru" written in white ink. The signature is fluid and expressive, with a prominent 'J' at the beginning and a long, sweeping 'Nehru' at the end.A smaller, handwritten signature of the name "Jawaharlal Nehru" located in the bottom left corner of the page.

**Selected
works of
Jawaharlal
Nehru**

"So the story of Jawaharlal Nehru is that of a man who evolved, who grew in storm and stress till he became the representative of much that was noble in his time. It is the story of a generous and gracious human being who summed up in himself the resurgence of the 'third world' as well as the humanism which transcends dogmas and is adapted to the contemporary context. His achievement, by its very nature and setting, was much greater than that of a Prime Minister. And it is with the conviction that the life of this man is of importance not only to scholars but to all, in India and elsewhere, who are interested in the valour and compassion of the human spirit that the Jawaharlal Nehru Memorial Fund has decided to publish a series of volumes consisting of all that is significant in what Jawaharlal Nehru spoke and wrote. . . .the whole corpus should help to remind us of the quality and endeavour of one who was not only a leader of men and a lover of mankind, but a completely integrated human being."

Indira Gandhi



ADDRESSING THE U.N. GENERAL ASSEMBLY, PARIS,
3 NOVEMBER 1948

Selected works of Jawaharlal Nehru

Second Series

Volume Eight

A Project of the
Jawaharlal Nehru
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S. Gopal



FOREWORD

Jawaharlal Nehru is one of the key figures of the twentieth century. He symbolised some of the major forces which have transformed our age.

When Jawaharlal Nehru was young, history was still the privilege of the West; the rest of the world lay in deliberate darkness. The impression given was that the vast continents of Asia and Africa existed merely to sustain their masters in Europe and North America. Jawaharlal Nehru's own education in Britain could be interpreted, in a sense, as an attempt to secure for him a place within the pale. His letters of the time are evidence of his sensitivity, his interest in science and international affairs as well as of his pride in India and Asia. But his personality was veiled by his shyness and a facade of nonchalance, and perhaps outwardly there was not much to distinguish him from the ordinary run of men. Gradually there emerged the warm and universal being who became intensely involved with the problems of the poor and the oppressed in all lands. In doing so, Jawaharlal Nehru gave articulation and leadership to millions of people in his own country and in Asia and Africa.

That imperialism was a curse which should be lifted from the brows of men, that poverty was incompatible with civilisation, that nationalism should be poised on a sense of international community and that it was not sufficient to brood on these things when action was urgent and compelling—these were the principles which inspired and gave vitality to Jawaharlal Nehru's activities in the years of India's struggle for freedom and made him not only an intense nationalist but one of the leaders of humanism.

No particular ideological doctrine could claim Jawaharlal Nehru for its own. Long days in jail were spent in reading widely. He drew much from the thought of the East and West and from the philosophies of the past and the present. Never religious in the formal sense, yet he had a deep love for the culture and tradition of his own land. Never a rigid Marxist, yet he was deeply influenced by that theory and was particularly impressed by what he saw in the Soviet Union on his first visit in 1927. However, he realised that the world was too complex, and man had too many facets, to be encompassed by any single or total explanation. He himself was a socialist with an abhorrence of regimentation and a democrat who was anxious to reconcile his faith in civil liberty with the necessity of mitigating economic and social wretchedness. His struggles, both within himself and with the

outside world, to adjust such seeming contradictions are what make his life and work significant and fascinating.

As a leader of free India, Jawaharlal Nehru recognised that his country could neither stay out of the world nor divest itself of its own interest in world affairs. But to the extent that it was possible, Jawaharlal Nehru sought to speak objectively and to be a voice of sanity in the shrill phases of the 'cold war'. Whether his influence helped on certain occasions to maintain peace is for the future historian to assess. What we do know is that for a long stretch of time he commanded an international audience reaching far beyond governments, that he spoke for ordinary, sensitive, thinking men and women around the globe and that his was a constituency which extended far beyond India.

So the story of Jawaharlal Nehru is that of a man who evolved, who grew in storm and stress till he became the representative of much that was noble in his time. It is the story of a generous and gracious human being who summed up in himself the resurgence of the 'third world' as well as the humanism which transcends dogmas and is adapted to the contemporary context. His achievement, by its very nature and setting, was much greater than that of a Prime Minister. And it is with the conviction that the life of this man is of importance not only to scholars but to all, in India and elsewhere, who are interested in the valour and compassion of the human spirit that the Jawaharlal Nehru Memorial Fund has decided to publish a series of volumes consisting of all that is significant in what Jawaharlal Nehru spoke and wrote. There is, as is to be expected in the speeches and writings of a man so engrossed in affairs and gifted with expression, much that is ephemeral; this will be omitted. The official letters and memoranda will also not find place here. But it is planned to include everything else and the whole corpus should help to remind us of the quality and endeavour of one who was not only a leader of men and a lover of mankind, but a completely integrated human being.

Indra Jauhar.

New Delhi
18 January 1972

Chairman
Jawaharlal Nehru Memorial Fund

EDITORIAL NOTE

This volume covers nearly eleven weeks, from 6 October 1948 when Jawaharlal Nehru left India for London to attend the Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference, to 19 December when the annual session of the Indian National Congress at Jaipur concluded. Both the domestic and the world situation required constant vigilance as the crisis points remained at high pitch during this period. Europe was tense because of the Berlin crisis, China threatened to split with the Communist victory, Indonesia was fighting for its freedom against the Dutch, and in Kashmir, the U.N. Commission's truce proposals brought no settlement to the conflict. The migration of people from East to West Bengal intensified the problem of refugee rehabilitation; inflation was mounting and labour was restive. The communal activities of certain groups went against the declared policy of the Government.

In handling these issues Jawaharlal Nehru gave a lead in firmness and in peaceful approach. He advocated the causes of Indonesia and of the Africans against their alien rulers, favoured the continued membership of India in the Commonwealth and sought to protect Indian interests in neighbouring countries. Within India he laid stress on secular values and on the restructuring of the economy to meet the requirements of free India.

The Nehru Memorial Library has been good enough to provide access to the papers of Jawaharlal Nehru and other relevant collections. Shrimati Indira Gandhi made available to us a large number of documents in her possession, and these papers have been referred to in the footnotes as the J.N. Collection. The Secretariats of the President, the Prime Minister and the Cabinet, the Ministries of Home and External Affairs and the National Archives of India have authorized the reproduction of some notes and letters in their possession. Much of it is classified material, and some portions have necessarily been deleted. A few items from the volumes of *Sardar Patel's Correspondence* have also been included. *The Hindustan Times* has permitted us to reproduce a cartoon by Enver Ahmed.

The biographical footnotes covered in the earlier volumes of the *Selected Works* have been mentioned in the index with the volume number.

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CONTENTS

1. National Reconstruction

I. General Perspectives

1	Pulling Through	19 October	1948	1
2	The Role of the Press	7 November	1948	2
3	A Humane Approach to Social Work	27 November	1948	3
4	The Army as the Defender of Freedom	9 December	1948	4
5	Revolutionizing the Political Vision	11 December	1948	5
6	The Ideals Before the Nation	18 December	1948	6
7	The Message	18 December	1948	10

1. National Reconstruction

II. The Economy

(i) Industrial Development

1	To Syama Prasad Mookerjee	19 November	1948	15
2	National Savings Schemes	22 November	1948	17
3	Cable to V.K. Krishna Menon	5 December	1948	17
4	Working with Faith	5 December	1948	18
5	Appeal Against Strikes	19 December	1948	24
6	The Economic Programme of the Congress	19 December	1948	26

1. National Reconstruction

II. The Economy

(ii) Statistical Coordination

1	To Gyan Chand	24 November	1948	28
2	Statistical Organisation	27 November	1948	29
3	To Chief Ministers	27 November	1948	31

1. National Reconstruction

II. The Economy

(iii) Rural Problems

1	To Sri Krishna Sinha	21 November	1948	31
2	To Sri Krishna Sinha	24 November	1948	33
3	To N.G. Ranga	24 November	1948	34

1. National Reconstruction

II. The Economy

(iv) Scientific Research

1	Atom for Peace	22 October	1948	35
2	Tenure for Scientists	28 November	1948	35

1. National Reconstruction

II. The Economy

(v) Import of Tractors

1	Cable to Jairamdas Doulatram	27 October	1948	36
2	To Jairamdas Doulatram	21 November	1948	37
3	To Jairamdas Doulatram	24 November	1948	38
4	Telegram to S.M. Abdullah	25 November	1948	38

2. Kashmir

I. At the United Nations

1	Cable to N. Gopalaswami Ayyangar	18 October	1948	41
2	Cable to A.V. Pai	22 October	1948	42
3	Cable to A.V. Pai	27 October	1948	42
4	Cable to Vallabhbhai Patel	30 October	1948	43
5	Cable to V.K. Krishna Menon	10 November	1948	44
6	Cable to G.S. Bajpai	12 November	1948	44
7	Cable to V.K. Krishna Menon	15 November	1948	45
8	To V.K. Krishna Menon	18 November	1948	46
9	Cable to V.K. Krishna Menon	19 November	1948	49
10	Cable to G.S. Bajpai	Undated	1948	50
11	Cable to G.S. Bajpai	21 November	1948	51
12	Cable to Vijayalakshmi Pandit	22 November	1948	52
12	Cable to Vijayalakshmi Pandit	22 November	1948	52
13	Cable to G.S. Bajpai	23 November	1948	53
14	Cable to G.S. Bajpai	23 November	1948	54
15	Cable to G.S. Bajpai	24 November	1948	56
16	Cable to G.S. Bajpai	24 November	1948	57
17	Cable to G.S. Bajpai	25 November	1948	58
18	Cable to G.S. Bajpai	29 November	1948	59
19	Cable to G.S. Bajpai	29 November	1948	61
20	To S.M. Abdullah	29 November	1948	62
21	Cable to G.S. Bajpai	30 November	1948	63

22	Cable to G.S. Bajpai	30 November	1948	64
23	To Devadas Gandhi	1 December	1948	65
24	Cable to V.K. Krishna Menon	1 December	1948	66
25	Cable to G.S. Bajpai	1 December	1948	66
26	Cable to G.S. Bajpai	5 December	1948	67
27	Cable to G.S. Bajpai	6 December	1948	70
28	To Devadas Gandhi	9 December	1948	70
29	To Archibald Nye	9 December	1948	71
30	Cable to G.S. Bajpai	12 December	1948	72
31	Cable to G.S. Bajpai	13 December	1948	73
32	To S.M. Abdullah	13 December	1948	73
33	Cable to G.S. Bajpai	14 December	1948	76
34	Cable to G.S. Bajpai	15 December	1948	76
35	To V.K. Krishna Menon	18 December	1948	77

2. Kashmir

II. Internal Situation

1	To S.M. Abdullah	28 October	1948	81
2	To S.M. Abdullah	28 October	1948	82
3	To Lady Mountbatten	12 November	1948	83
4	The War of Ideologies in Kashmir	14 November	1948	83
5	To S.M. Abdullah	15 November	1948	84
6	To Lady Mountbatten	22 November	1948	86
7	To F.R.R. Bucher	24 November	1948	87
8	Paintings of War in Kashmir	2 December	1948	88
9	To S.M. Abdullah	9 December	1948	88

3. Hyderabad

1	To Walter Monckton	11 October	1948	93
2	Cable to A.V. Pai	20 October	1948	94
3	To V.K. Krishna Menon	21 October	1948	94
4	Cable to N. Gopalaswami Ayyangar	22 October	1948	95
5	To Vallabhbhai Patel	26 October	1948	96

6	Cable to Vallabhbhai Patel	27 October	1948	98
7	To Liaquat Ali Khan	1 November	1948	99
8	Cable to Vallabhbhai Patel	2 November	1948	100
9	Cable to Liaquat Ali Khan	11 November	1948	101
10	The True Situation in Hyderabad	14 November	1948	102
11	Cable to Sri Prakasa	15 November	1948	105
12	Cable to V.K. Krishna Menon	16 November	1948	105
13	To V.P. Menon	26 November	1948	106
14	Restoration of Peace in Hyderabad	26 November	1948	106
15	To V.P. Menon	28 November	1948	109
16	Cable to Liaquat Ali Khan	1 December	1948	110
17	Cable to G.S. Bajpai	4 December	1948	111
18	Cable to G.S. Bajpai	7 December	1948	111
19	To A.M. Allapichai	9 December	1948	112
20	Cable to G.S. Bajpai	12 December	1948	112
21	Cable to G.S. Bajpai	12 December	1948	113
22	Cable to V.K. Krishna Menon	14 December	1948	116
23	To V.P. Menon	15 December	1948	117

4. Communalism

1	To Bhagavan Das	10 November	1948	121
2	To M.S. Golwalkar	10 November	1948	122
3	Fight Communalism	16 November	1948	123
4	To Syama Prasad Mookerjee	19 November	1948	124
5	To Baldev Singh	23 November	1948	124
6	To C.M. Trivedi	29 November	1948	126
7	The Challenge of the R.S.S.	5 December	1948	128
8	To Kartar Singh	8 December	1948	130
9	To Gopichand Bhargava	8 December	1948	133
10	The Shrine of Qutub Shah	13 December	1948	134
11	To C.M. Trivedi	14 December	1948	134
12	The Victims of Partition	19 December	1948	135
13	The Evil of Communalism	19 December	1948	136

5. Rehabilitation of Refugees

1	To C. Rajagopalachari	26 October	1948	141
2	To Lady Mountbatten	29 October	1948	141

3	Cable to V.K. Krishna Menon	11 November	1948	143
4	Cable to Sri Prakasa	13 November	1948	143
5	Functioning of the Relief and Rehabilitation Ministry	14 November	1948	144
6	Repair of Refugee Barracks in Anand Parbat	17 November	1948	146
7	To Vallabhbhai Patel	17 November	1948	147
8	Rehabilitation of Refugees	18 November	1948	149
9	To Mohanlal Saksena	19 November	1948	149
10	To Amrit Kaur	21 November	1948	151
11	Telegram to B.C. Roy	22 November	1948	151
12	To Gopichand Bhargava	24 November	1948	152
13	Formation of an Economic Unit	24 November	1948	153
14	The Problem of Rehabilitation of Refugees	24 November	1948	153
15	To K.M. Cariappa	26 November	1948	154
16	To Vallabhbhai Patel	28 November	1948	154
17	To Mohanlal Saksena	29 November	1948	155
18	Assistance in Evacuation of Refugees	2 December	1948	156
19	The House of M.A. Ansari	9 December	1948	156
20	Towards Amity between India and Pakistan	19 December	1948	157

6. The Language Problem

1	To Masood Husain	11 November	1948	163
2	Language in Law Courts of Dhanbad	24 November	1948	163
3	To Haroon K. Sherwani	30 November	1948	165
4	To Mohammad Ismail Khan	13 December	1948	166
5	To G.S. Gupta	14 December	1948	167
6	To G.S. Gupta	14 December	1948	168
7	Intolerance Condemned	18 December	1948	169

7. Constitutional Issues

1	Objectives Resolution and the Draft Constitution	8 November	1948	173
2	A Name for the Federal Units	15 November	1948	181

3	To V.K. Krishna Menon	18 November	1948	183
4	To Vallabhbhai Patel	19 November	1948	184
5	Separation of the Judiciary from the Executive	25 November	1948	185
6	To Manu Subedar	28 November	1948	188

8. Matters of Administration

I. Government Policy and Cabinet Coordination

1	To N. Gopalaswami Ayyangar	28 October	1948	191
2	To Vallabhbhai Patel	29 October	1948	191
3	Attendance of Officials at Cabinet Meetings	13 November	1948	192
4	To John Matthai	26 November	1948	193
5	To Sri Krishna Sinha	28 November	1948	194
6	To John Matthai	28 November	1948	194
7	To Rajendra Prasad	13 December	1948	195

8. Matters of Administration

II. Judiciary

1	To Vallabhbhai Patel	Undated	1948	196
2	To H.R. Meredith	11 November	1948	198
3	To B.N. Rau	11 November	1948	198
4	To Sri Krishna Sinha	15 November	1948	199
5	To Vallabhbhai Patel	17 November	1948	200
6	To C. Rajagopalachari	23 November	1948	201
7	To Vallabhbhai Patel	23 November	1948	201
8	To Vallabhbhai Patel	5 December	1948	202
9	To Vallabhbhai Patel	13 December	1948	204

8. Matters of Administration

III. Appointment and Salaries

1	To Satyanarayan Sinha	11 November	1948	205
2	To John Matthai	15 November	1948	206
3	To Syama Prasad Mookerjee	1 December	1948	207
4	To Jairamdas Doulatram	1 December	1948	208
5	To C. Rajagopalachari	3 December	1948	208
6	To Vallabhbhai Patel	5 December	1948	209
7	To Vallabhbhai Patel	7 December	1948	210
8	To K.N. Katju	8 December	1948	211
9	To Vallabhbhai Patel	9 December	1948	212
10	To Vallabhbhai Patel	11 December	1948	212
11	To Vallabhbhai Patel	13 December	1948	213

8. Matters of Administration

IV. Honours and Titles

1	To C. Rajagopalachari	10 November	1948	213
2	To Devadas Gandhi	6 December	1948	214
3	To Vallabhbhai Patel	7 December	1948	215

8. Matters of Administration

V. Law and Order

1	To Vallabhbhai Patel	8 November	1948	216
2	To B.G. Kher	17 November	1948	217
3	To Gopichand Bhargava	23 November	1948	218
4	Irresponsible Journalism	29 November	1948	219
5	To Vallabhbhai Patel	2 December	1948	220

9. Letters to the Premiers of Provinces

I		16 November	1948	223
II		6 December	1948	230

10. India and the Commonwealth

1	At the Commonwealth Conference	11 October	1948	245
2	Cable to Vallabhbhai Patel	18 October	1948	245
3	Need for Frequent Consultations	18 October	1948	246
4	Consultations on Defence	21 October	1948	247
5	To V.K. Krishna Menon	28 October	1948	248
6	A Ten-Point Memorandum	28 October	1948	248
7	The Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference	6 November	1948	252
8	Links with the Commonwealth	7 November	1948	250
9	To V.K. Krishna Menon	11 November	1948	253
10	Cable to V.K. Krishna Menon	12 November	1948	254
11	To V.K. Krishna Menon	16 November	1948	255
12	Cable to V.K. Krishna Menon	19 November	1948	256
13	Cable to V.K. Krishna Menon	22 November	1948	257
14	To Lord Mountbatten	22 November	1948	258
15	To C. Rajagopalachari	24 November	1948	259
16	To V.K. Krishna Menon	28 November	1948	260
17	Cable to V.K. Krishna Menon	2 December	1948	262
18	Cable to V.K. Krishna Menon	2 December	1948	266
19	To V.K. Krishna Menon	2 December	1948	267
20	Cable to V. K. Krishna Menon	6 December	1948	269
21	To V.K. Krishna Menon	17 December	1948	270
22	To V.K. Krishna Menon	19 December	1948	271

11. Foreign Policy

I. General

1	The World Situation	6 October	1948	275
2	Nationalism, Imperialism and Communism	12 October	1948	276

3	No Danger of a Third World War	12 October	1948	278
4	Development as the Key to India's Economic Freedom	13 October	1948	279
5	The Need for Wider Perspective	19 October	1948	280
6	Towards a World Without War	20 October	1948	283
7	To Vallabhbhai Patel	27 October	1948	284
8	The Importance of Asia	31 October	1948	288
9	The Role of the United Nations	3 November	1948	290
10	Strong Factors for Peace	4 November	1948	295
11	Report on his Trip Abroad	6 November	1948	296
12	To Lady Mountbatten	7 November	1948	301
13	Cable to Vijayalakshmi Pandit	9 November	1948	303
14	International Cooperation	10 November	1948	304
15	India and the World	12 November	1948	305
16	International Communications	23 November	1948	320
17	To B. Pattabhi Sitaramayya	2 December	1948	324
18	Note on Foreign Policy	2 December	1948	325
19	Documentary Films for External Publicity	8 December	1948	328
20	The Asian Situation	14 December	1948	329
21	A Practical Approach to Foreign Policy	16 December	1948	331
22	To Stafford Cripps	17/18 December	1948	335
23	Foreign Policy	19 December	1948	341

11. Foreign Policy

II. Pakistan

1	Cable to G.S. Bajpai	15 November	1948	345
2	To Sri Prakasa	18 November	1948	345
3	To Vallabhbhai Patel	18 November	1948	346
4	Telegram to B.C. Roy	19 November	1948	347
5	Telegram to B.C. Roy	23 November	1948	347
6	Telegram to B.C. Roy	29 November	1948	348
7	To N. Gopalaswami Ayyangar	7 December	1948	348
8	To John Matthai	12 December	1948	349
9	To B.C. Roy	12 December	1948	351
10	To Vallabhbhai Patel	14 December	1948	352
11	Indians in Pakistan Prisons	15 December	1948	353

11. Foreign Policy

III. United Kingdom

1	Adding to Friendly Ties with Britain	6 October	1948	357
2	Learning from the British Experience	11 October	1948	357
3	To Vallabhbhai Patel	11 October	1948	358
4	Closer Cooperation between India and Britain	12 October	1948	360
5	Towards Peace and Friendship	21 October	1948	364
6	A New Atmosphere of Cooperation	26 October	1948	365
7	To C. Rajagopalachari	11 November	1948	366
8	To Archibald Nye	13 November	1948	367
9	Cable to V.K. Krishna Menon	14 November	1948	368
10	To V.K. Krishna Menon	2 December	1948	368
11	Processing and Sale of Monazite	14 December	1948	370

11. Foreign Policy

IV. Indonesia

1	Cable to Mohammad Hatta	4 November	1948	373
2	Cable to G.S. Bajpai	7 November	1948	373
3	Cable to Government of Indonesia	Undated	1948	375
4	Airlifting of Indonesian Leaders	16 November	1948	376
5	Financial Aid to Indonesia	18 November	1948	376
6	To A. Soekarno	24 November	1948	377
7	To C.R. Attlee	25 November	1948	378
8	Cable to A. Soekarno	29 November	1948	379
9	Cable to P.J. Noel-Baker	30 November	1948	380
10	Cable to Indian Envoys in United States and Britain	15 December	1948	381
11	Imperialism has to End	19 December	1948	383
12	Greetings to Indonesian Republic	19 December	1948	385

11. Foreign Policy

V. Sri Lanka

1	Admission of Sri Lanka to the U.N.	18 October	1948	389
2	Cable to D.S. Senanayake	13 November	1948	389
3	Cable to D.S. Senanayake	17 November	1948	390

11. Foreign Policy

VI. Burma

1	To Vallabhbhai Patel	13 October	1948	393
2	Cable to M.A. Rauf	10 November	1948	394
3	To Thakin Nu	30 November	1948	395

11. Foreign Policy

VII. Ireland

1	Cable to V.K. Krishna Menon	24 November	1948	399
2	Cable to Sean MacBride	25 November	1948	399
3	Cable to V.K. Krishna Menon	26 November	1948	400
4	Closer Ties with Ireland	26 November	1948	401

11. Foreign Policy

VIII. Other Countries

1	Greetings to Czechoslovakia	28 October	1948	407
2	Cable to Vallabhbhai Patel	31 October	1948	407
3	To Amrit Kaur	13 November	1948	408

4	Relief for Palestine Refugees	13 November	1948	409
5	Haj Pilgrims	16 November	1948	410
6	Cable to Joseph Stalin	16 November	1948	411
7	To Vijayalakshmi Pandit	17 November	1948	411
8	Closer Ties with Africans	19 November	1948	412
9	Cable to Vijayalakshmi Pandit	23 November	1948	413
10	Associations for Cultural Contacts	24 November	1948	414
11	Cable to Vijayalakshmi Pandit	28 November	1948	414
12	Cable to Governor of West Bengal	29 November	1948	415
13	The Situation in China	5 December	1948	416
14	Visas to Afghans	12 December	1948	417
15	Cable to the Maharaja of Nepal	14 December	1948	418
16	Cultural Genocide	14 December	1948	418
17	Indians in South Africa	19 December	1948	419

11. Foreign Policy

IX. Foreign Enclaves in India

1	Cable to N. Gopalaswami Ayyangar	16 October	1948	423
2	French Enclaves	22 November	1948	424
3	Referendum in French Enclaves	15 December	1948	424
4	No Future for Foreign Footholds	17 December	1948	425
5	Foreign Possessions in India	19 December	1948	426

12. Miscellaneous

1	To V.K. Krishna Menon	26 October	1948	431
2	To A.V. Pai	28 October	1948	431
3	To Indira Gandhi	28 October	1948	432
4	To George Bernard Shaw	28 October	1948	433
5	Cable to Vallabhbhai Patel	1 November	1948	433
6	To Asaf Ali	11 November	1948	434
7	To Minoo R. Masani	11 November	1948	434
8	To N.W. Manley	11 November	1948	435
9	Strikes and Inflation	12 November	1948	436

10	Association with the Congress and Vallabhbhai Patel	14 November	1948	438
11	To Vijayalakshmi Pandit	16 November	1948	439
12	Response to Birthday Greetings	17 November	1948	440
13	To C. Rajagopalachari	22 November	1948	440
14	To Amiya Chakravarty	23 November	1948	441
15	To Asaf Ali	24 November	1948	442
16	C. Vijayaraghavachariar	24 November	1948	442
17	To N. Gopalaswami Ayyangar	24 November	1948	443
18	To Syed Mahmud	24 November	1948	443
19	To Mohanlal Saksena	24 November	1948	444
20	To Narendra Deva	24 November	1948	444
21	To P.A. Narielwala	24 November	1948	445
22	To Goswami Ganesh Dutt	24 November	1948	445
23	Official Dinners	28 November	1948	446
24	To Vijayalakshmi Pandit	28 November	1948	446
25	To Mohanlal Nehru	2 December	1948	447
26	To Lady Mountbatten	5 December	1948	448
27	To V.K. Krishna Menon	12 December	1948	449
28	To Khurshed Naoroji	14 December	1948	451
29	The Merger of the States	19 December	1948	452
30	Public Conduct of Congressmen	19 December	1948	452

ILLUSTRATIONS

Addressing the U.N. General Assembly, Paris, 3 November 1948	<i>frontispiece</i>
At the A.I.C.C. session, Jaipur, December 1948	<i>between pp.</i> 16—17
At the opening of the Congress session, Jaipur, December 1948	16—17
With K.M. Cariappa, Srinagar, 20 November 1948	64—65
Leaving the Combined Military Hospital, Srinagar, 20 November 1948	64—65
Walking down the stairs of 10 Downing Street, London, during the Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference, October 1948	256—257
At the Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference, October 1948	256—257
With Trygve Lie, Paris, 3 November 1948	288—289
Addressing a gathering of Indians at India House, London, 21 October 1948	288—289
Addressing Asian Commission of the International Meteorological Organisation, New Delhi, 10 November 1948	304—305
A cartoon by Enver Ahmed, <i>The Hindustan Times</i> , 14 November 1948	304—305
At the Congress session, Jaipur, December 1948	336—337
At the Congress session, Jaipur, December 1948	336—337
On his 59th birthday, Teen Murti House, New Delhi, 14 November 1948	432—433
At the Congress session, Jaipur, December 1948	432—433
State of Jammu and Kashmir	<i>Map</i> 64—65

ABBREVIATIONS

A.I.C.C.	All India Congress Committee
A.I.I.H.P.H.	All India Institute of Hygiene and Public Health
A.I.R.	All India Radio
A.I.S.A.	All India Spinners' Association
A.I.V.I.A.	All India Village Industries Association
A.I.W.C.	All India Women's Council
B.B.C.	British Broadcasting Corporation
B.O.A.C.	British Overseas Airways Corporation
C.A.	Constituent Assembly
C.P.	Central Provinces
C.S.O.	Central Statistical Organisation
D.C.	Deputy Commissioner
E.B.R.	East Bengal Railway
F.P.S.C.	Federal Public Service Commission
G.G.	Governor-General
G.O.C.-in-C.	General Officer Commanding-in-Chief
H.C.	High Commissioner
H.M.G.	His Majesty's Government
H.M.S.	His Majesty's Ship
I.A.F.	Indian Air Force
I.C.A.O.	International Civil Aviation Organisation
I.C.S.	Indian Civil Service
I.M.A.	Indian Medical Academy
I.M.S.	Indian Medical Service
I.N.A.	Indian National Army
I.S.I.	Indian Statistical Institute
M.E.A. & C.R.	Ministry of External Affairs and Commonwealth Relations
M.H.A.	Ministry of Home Affairs
M.L.A.	Member of Legislative Assembly
M.P.	Member of Parliament
N.A.I.	National Archives of India
N.M.M.L.	Nehru Memorial Museum and Library
N.W.F.P.	North West Frontier Province
P.C.C.	Provincial Congress Committee
P.E.P.S.U.	Patiala and East Punjab States Union
P.I.B.	Press Information Bureau
P.M.	Prime Minister

P.M.S.	Prime Minister's Secretariat
P.W.D.	Public Works Department
R.I.A.F.	Royal Indian Air Force
R.I.N.	Royal Indian Navy
R.S.S.	Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh
U.N.C.I.P.	United Nations Commission for India and Pakistan
U.N.E.C.A.F.E.	United Nations Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East
U.N.E.S.C.O.	United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organisation
U.N.O.	United Nations Organisation
U.P.	United Provinces

1

NATIONAL RECONSTRUCTION

I. General Perspectives

1. Pulling Through¹

2. The Role of the Press¹

This is an age of great change. But it often happens that times change while the minds of people remain static. India may change but their minds may remain static. It is, therefore, necessary for us to study carefully all questions that may crop up.

It is easy to repeat old ideas and people working for newspapers under great stress cannot always bring to bear a fresh outlook on things. It often happens that what they say prove wrong in the course of events. For instance, newspapers said that Dewey² would win, but a different man altogether was elected.³ It is essential for them to understand the changing world and keep abreast of events. They should not try to deceive the readers.

The prime function of newspapers is to help people keep themselves abreast of the new developments and also let the world know about their country. The coming times are going to be critical. The propaganda carried on through radio and the press has a powerful effect on the people. I personally think that in a socialist structure the Government has to interfere with the thoughts of people instead of allowing the big capitalists to do so. But it is dangerous that Government should control the ideas of the people and if that happened the world could not move much forward. A middle way in which neither the capitalists nor the Government of the day tried to unduly influence public opinion has therefore to be found.

Newspapers play a great part in both building up and destroying the intellectual life of a country. Today, we are trying to raise the status of our country. But many of the newspapers write things which are degrading. I am certain that if we are to follow the narrow path preached by them the country would go down. If that ideology were to hold the field, our country might lose its importance.

India is much bigger than what they can think of. After some years I had gone to Britain to see what others thought of us. I was pleasantly surprised to find the esteem in which our country is held abroad. It is not because of the hubbub created by us but because of the great services rendered by Gandhiji. The world had realized the worth of that great soul.

1. Speech on the occasion of the silver jubilee celebrations of *Tej*, New Delhi, 7 November 1948. From *The Hindustan Times* and *National Herald*, 8 November 1948.
2. Thomas E. Dewey (1902-71); American criminal lawyer; Governor of New York, 1942-54; Republican candidate for presidency of the United States, 1944 and 1948.
3. Thomas Dewey lost to Harry S. Truman, in the U.S. presidential elections in 1948.

3. A Humane Approach to Social Work¹

Political freedom is a means and not an end. Those who think that in free India only rights should be doled out without any corresponding obligations are exceedingly wrong. Freedom can be made meaningful if each individual leads a good productive life, if barriers against development are removed and a higher standard of life ensured.

A higher standard, however, does not make a better individual. Proper development is necessary, which in its turn depend on economic stability and a balance between rights and obligations. People should not be mere consumers but should pay attention to their responsibility for producing too.

Social work is vital for bringing about a healthy development. But this work must not be undertaken for the sake of showmanship or for personal satisfaction—a superior person doling out goodness to his “victims” as a kindly and generous act. Such help given in condescension is worse than useless. Such an approach to social work is perverted. Those who want to help their less fortunate fellow men must have a different psychological approach.

Of course, social work is the State's responsibility. It is the State which should see that anyone who wants an opening has an opportunity to work. But there is one difficulty. The state is an impersonal machine whereas social work requires the human element. It is, therefore, necessary for the State to encourage and support non-officials engaged in such work, although it is important that they should fit in with the State policy.

The conference is important because it is being held in Delhi, which is a pivotal place not only because it is the country's capital. After the partition the city has been the centre of many conflicts, physical as well as those of the spirit and soul. The rest of the country watches Delhi to see the trends, and those who work in Delhi have, therefore, to be careful in what they do. Actions of those in Delhi should release the right forces and give the right direction to trends.

Delhi, in various phases, reflects the political and cultural history of India. It has a soul and a spirit and is not merely an accumulation of inhabitants. It epitomizes the mixture of various cultural trends. Whatever happens here is therefore of great significance. I hope the social workers in Delhi will concentrate on making the city a healthy place physically, mentally and morally so that people can be ensured a more complete life.

1. Speech at the first Delhi Provincial Conference of Social Work, 27 November 1948.
From *The Hindustan Times*, 28 November 1948.

4. The Army as the Defender of Freedom¹

You are going out of the Academy today to begin a new life in India's Armed Forces. Great responsibilities devolve upon you. You must accept them with grace and serve the country selflessly.

You are going out to different parts of the country as officers of the Indian Army. The Army has a great tradition and on your good behaviour rests the fair name and future greatness of the Army. The Army is not intended to be a weapon of aggression as India has no designs against any country, and moreover the days of imperialism are gone.

To defend the country's hard-won freedom is the sole purpose for which the Indian Army exists today. We struggled in the past in our own way to achieve independence and we have got it. To maintain our freedom great vigilance is necessary; we cannot afford to sit back.

Great problems face the country and these cannot be solved merely through the passing of orders by the Government. Their solution and the creation of a great nation require wisdom, courage, largeness of heart and above all unity.

The officers can play their part in shaping the destiny of the country. It is for you to study the ideal for which the country stands today and realize your responsibilities. This, however, does not mean that you should take part in politics.

I would draw the attention of the cadets to the Himalayas at the feet of which the cadets have received their training. Many lessons can be learnt from this symbol of greatness. The Himalayas stood as the sentinel at the northern gates of India. Invaders in the past groped through them and yet the Himalayas stood firm, and as calmly as ever. What you the young officers can learn from this is to remain cool and calm in the face of overwhelming difficulties and problems which you may have to encounter in your lives.

I would remind you of the inscription you have so often seen and read in the main hall of the Academy and I ask you always to bear that in mind—your duty is, first, to the country, next to the soldiers under your command and, lastly, to yourselves.²

1. Speech at the passing out parade at the Indian Military Academy, Dehra Dun, 9 December 1948. From *The Hindustan Times* and *The Times of India*, 10 December 1948.
2. The credo of I.M.A., given by Field Marshal Philip Chetwode and inscribed in gold on the oak panels of Chetwode Hall, read: "The safety, honour and welfare of your country come first, always and every time. The honour, welfare and comfort of the men you command come next. Your own ease, comfort and safety come last, always and every time."

5. Revolutionizing the Political Vision¹

The teachings of the *Gita*, the philosophy of Lord Buddha and the practical politics of Mahatma Gandhi are chiefly responsible for my political career. Things like the *Gita* which make up the greatness of a nation cannot be confined within four walls.

If a nation is to be great, she cannot afford to have any barriers between her and the outside world or between different sections of her own people. If such barriers do exist, such a nation cannot influence the world nor can she take advantage of the experiences and discoveries of other countries.

After a continuous study of the history of India, I have noticed that whenever the nation has been at the peak of her greatness there have been few barriers between her and other nations. At such times her influence has spread far beyond her frontiers as ancient monuments at places like Angkor² in Siam proved. India's strength had been cultural and did not arise from military strength. Her great men, too, like Gautama Buddha and Mahatma Gandhi belonged to the world.

After her early greatness, India entered on a period in which she put up barriers between herself and the outside world. She did this to avoid being infected by evil influences but in the process good influences were also kept out. The nation's greatness gradually shrivelled and it became open to foreign domination.

Mahatma Gandhi, though physically weak, was the most powerful man in recent times and he had proved that strength really resided in the heart and mind. A people must be confident in their power to resist evil and now when India is again free she must make it a point of not cutting herself off from the rest of the world. In these days the repercussions of an event in any part of the world are felt all over.

Within the country the people should treat each other as brothers, else the nation will grow weak and be immersed in internal problems instead of taking her place among the major powers. Therefore, we have to build up our country again. Our people should treat the newly-won freedom as a road to strength and prosperity.

1. Speech at *Gita Jayanti* celebrations at Gita Bhawan near Lakshmi Narayan Temple, New Delhi, 11 December 1948. From *The Hindustan Times*, 12 December 1948.
2. At Angkor several Buddhist monasteries and temples such as Angkor Wat, the Bayon and many others were built between 9th and 15th centuries by Suryavarman II (1113-50) and Jayavarman VII (1181-1219) and other rulers.

The shackles of alien rule have been thrown off and the country has attained political freedom which is only a milestone on the road to progress and not the end of the journey. Political independence is not an end in itself but only a means to progress and uplift of the country and of securing equal rights to everyone.

This political freedom which had been achieved through compromise, was followed by an aftermath which shook the whole country. We have, therefore, a heavy task of consolidating our freedom and establishing a powerful State. In order to lay the foundation for such a State we have to shed off all weakness in our hearts and to dedicate ourselves to the high ideals taught by Gandhiji.

In the last thirty five years, I have often had doubts about the country's future. At these times our weaknesses had seemed overwhelming. In the last year, too, there had been such moments, such as during the Punjab disturbances. But at such times, fortunately, Mahatma Gandhi had been there to restore our confidence.

Our young men must rise above narrow-mindedness and be guided by the teachings of the *Gita*, the gift of ancient India. You have to take the place of the leaders of today. Man comes and man goes, but the country has to live an eternal life. It is up to you—our young men and women—to give that life to our country by revolutionizing the political vision of our people.

6. The Ideals Before the Nation¹

Pakistan's fear of India is unfounded and uncalled for. India has no intention of invading Pakistan. In the world of today problems are not solved by means of war. Has anything been settled by the last two wars? The creation of Pakistan itself is the result of an agreement to which we were a party. Even if Pakistan prays for a union with India, I will tell them: 'It is kind of you, it is better we do not rejoin.' Reunion will be injurious to the interests of India. The poison spread in the minds of the people of the

1. Speech while moving the resolution 'The Message' at the 55th session of the Indian National Congress in Jaipur on 18 December 1948. From *The Hindustan Times* and *National Herald*, 19 December 1948.

sub-continent still exists and unless it disappears completely, the reunion will give rise to the same old problems and difficulties.

I visualize some sort of working arrangements between the two Dominions on certain vital matters affecting both the countries for mutual benefit such as defence, communication and trade. When enmity has disappeared, an agreement will be of a stronger and lasting character.

The resolution presents a picture which incorporates the ideals set before the nation by Mahatma Gandhi. Mahatma Gandhi had shown the path which enabled the nation to turn defeat into triumph and whenever the country was victorious it never displayed arrogance. We took part in the struggle for twenty years for the freedom of the country under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi. Sometimes we fell down but we rose again to fight until we became victorious. Only two years ago, the country had terrific problems before it, but Gandhiji was alive to guide us.

After independence a storm swept over the country, the country was divided in two, and lakhs of people were rendered homeless. People went mad and this was the result of the poison of communalism spread by the leaders of Pakistan. Though we were provoked very badly, Gandhiji counselled patience and we acted according to the teachings which he had preached for forty years. While he was alive, Mahatma Gandhi was looking after the interests of the country, and it was the greatest calamity for the nation when he was assassinated.

The problems before the country have to be faced and we have to stand on our own legs now to deal with them squarely and boldly.

I refer to satyagraha by the R.S.S. Even now there is a lot of madness in the country. Satyagraha is possible for a good cause and no movement for an evil end can be called satyagraha. The R.S.S. has adopted a reprehensible method of secrecy. I am aware of their activities and their secretiveness.

I must warn them that we shall never allow them to rise again. We will prevent any organization believing in violence from coming up or raising its head in the country. How can we allow any organization to spread the poison of communalism in the country since all her recent problems and difficulties as well as partition of the country itself, were due to similar causes?

India is a big country with big ideals and her duties will necessarily be great and arduous. The greatness of a country is not judged by its size on the map alone, but by its great deeds and strength. It should be truly and intrinsically great both in the material and moral sense. Mahatma Gandhi has shown the path on which the country can move to that greatness. It is no use worshipping leaders unless the people follow the teachings of Gandhiji which in the past had made "men out of us." If the

SELECTED WORKS OF JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

country today occupies a position of importance among the comity of nations, it is due to the work of Mahatma Gandhi and the Congress.

It was not a simple matter to fight against the might of the British Government but when the country followed the path chalked out by Mahatma Gandhi, we felt strong and were able to face them unflinchingly. Even after the passing away of Mahatma Gandhi no new policy could be pursued by the Indian people as it would mean endangering the hard-won freedom. Mahatma Gandhi had also shown to the country by experience that good actions always yielded good results.

It is no use talking big without acting in a really big manner. Events of the past two years have put the country to shame. Gandhiji's ideals were not mere ideals but a definite policy which the country must implement. The great problems, internal and international, should be faced in accordance with that ideal and the policy of truth and non-violence, born out of strength. If any enemy tries to endanger the hard-won liberty of the nation, the country will give him a fitting answer.

I criticize the narrow-mindedness that pervades certain sections of the national life of the country. I give you the example of the supporters of the Hindi movement. I will give them a proper reply at a proper place and with proper strength.

A country like India, can either be big or fall to pieces. There is no via media. It is up to you to make the country a great one.

I am proud of the great Congress organization because without this organization, I feel we are nobody. The Congress has made us national leaders and has brought freedom to the country. Everyone of us owes his prestige and position to the Congress and all of us must act according to the ideals of the Congress. After Mahatma Gandhi's death, the responsibility on our shoulders has become greater and there is no room for weakness and lethargy.

It is a fallacy to think that our work is over since Swaraj has been achieved. If we become weak, there will be more difficulties. If we want our future generations to be happy and prosperous, we have to work hard. It is the duty of every one to make the country strong.

The freedom that we have got is only political freedom. What we want is a people's raj, in which all people without distinction will be prosperous and contented citizens. This is not possible unless economic freedom is attained. A vote does not bring to the poor either food, cloth, shelter or employment. In this country there should be no difference between high and low, a question to which the President has made reference.² We want

2. Pattabhi Sitaramayya, in his presidential address, had said, "Finally economic and social equality and equality of opportunity and of status for all, irrespective of race, creed or sex constitute the roofing of the mansion".

to do away with the jagirdari system. Everyone must be equal and have equal opportunity for progress and it is our duty to bring about conditions in the country under which this is possible.

Pakistan was created under the two-nation theory, the very basis of which is wrong. But in India every citizen should be made to feel that it is his own motherland. Everyone is the citizen of India and it is wrong to say that he or she does not belong to her because of religion. It is wrong to say that in India, where Hindus are in a majority, Muslims cannot be full and equal citizens.

What will the result be if we consider Muslims here as aliens and Pakistan considers one and half crores of Hindus in East Bengal as aliens? The Hindus in East Bengal should have the same rights which the Muslims enjoy there. In India Muslims, Christians, Parsis, Jews and all others have equal rights. The Hindus in East Bengal must continue to live there as a matter of right and demand full rights as citizens of Pakistan.

I am satisfied with the trend of Indo-Pakistan talks. Means for solving many disputes have been evolved at the recent Inter-Dominion Conference in Delhi.³ The general atmosphere has improved and I hope that the decisions reached at the conference will be implemented.

I refer to the situation in Kashmir. India acted all along in such a manner as not to provoke a war between the two Dominions. I do not know when the question will be solved, but it is the desire of India that, as the two countries live side by side, they have to settle all disputes in an amicable manner. Pakistan itself was created by an agreement to which India was a party.

I insist on the need to settle questions with Gandhiji's teachings as guidance. I appeal to the delegates of the Congress to accept the resolution and act according to the ideals of Mahatma Gandhi. This is the only way by which the country can march towards the goal of progress and prosperity.

3. On 6 December 1948, the Conference set up seven committees—Economic Committee, Stores Committee, Evacuee Property Committee, Committee for Border Disputes between East Bengal and West Bengal, between East Bengal and Assam and between East Punjab and West Punjab, Life Insurance Committee, Committees on Division of Museum Articles (Central), and Bengal and Punjab Partition matters. On 7 December the Conference decided that the issues concerning the implementation of the political clauses of the Calcutta agreement and the exodus of minority communities should be referred to a political committee which would include among others the leaders of the two delegations.

7. The Message¹

During its long history of struggle for India's freedom, carried on from generation to generation, the Congress experienced both sorrow and fulfilment and many triumphs and defeats. But under the superb leadership of the Father of the Nation, sorrow was made to chasten and purify the people and every defeat was turned into an incentive for redoubled effort and a prelude to victory.

Two years ago the Congress met in Meerut city² at a time of trial and difficulty and again under the inspiration of Gandhiji gave a lead to the nation. These two years have brought fulfilment in a measure, and the independence, for which generations had struggled and suffered, has been achieved. But the cost of that achievement has been heavy indeed, for the Motherland has been cut in two, and following this ill-fated partition, madness descended upon the people and all the great ideals for which the Congress stood seemed for a moment to be eclipsed. That darkness was illumined by the heartening message of Gandhiji, and innumerable sorrowing hearts drew strength and solace from it.

Then came the greatest blow of all, the assassination of him who was the embodiment of love and the gentle unconquerable spirit of India.

Thus the very achievement for which the Congress had laboured and which was a culmination of long struggle, brought no glow of freedom but sorrow and dismay.

In reverent memory of Gandhiji and in homage to his teachings, the country faced these terrible crises, the greatest of which was the crisis of the spirit which had clouded India's mind and made her forget for a while the great lesson which the Master had taught.

This Congress, meeting sixteen months after the attainment of independence and nearly eleven months after the passing away of him who fashioned it and gave it life, pays its homage to that great spirit and to his great message, and resolves to continue the service of the people of India and humanity in the light of that life-giving message.

Political freedom having been attained through non-violent action under the leadership of Gandhiji, the National Congress has now to labour for

1. Resolution drafted and moved by Nehru at the Jaipur Congress, 18 December 1948. *Congress Bulletin*, January 1949.
2. The fifty fourth session of the Indian National Congress was held in Meerut from 21 to 24 November 1946.

NATIONAL RECONSTRUCTION

the attainment of social and economic freedom so that progress and equal opportunity may come to all the people of India without any distinction of race or religion. This task requires a new and positive approach and a dedication to the service of the Motherland in a constructive spirit.

The people of India have achieved independence; but to enjoy its fruits, they must discharge their responsibilities and obligations. Congressmen must remember that it has been and should continue to be their highest privilege to serve the people and to shoulder these responsibilities and obligations, and those who hanker after office or power, forgetting their obligations, do an ill-service to the country.

It was the particular teaching of Gandhiji that service should be directed more specially towards promoting unity and goodwill between all the people of India, abolishing class distinctions and those based on birth or caste or religion, and working for a classless democratic society in a peaceful manner. Above all, the lesson he taught was the adherence, at all costs and in all circumstances, to the moral values which give meaning to life.

This Congress urges all Congressmen with all earnestness to face the difficulties and crises of today, both national and international, in the light of that message so that India may grow in freedom and moral stature and the great objectives for which this Congress has stood may be fulfilled.

1

NATIONAL RECONSTRUCTION

II. The Economy

i. INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT

1. To Syama Prasad Mookerjee¹

New Delhi
November 19, 1948

My dear Syama Prasad,

About a year and half ago or more Major-General Sokhey of the Haffkine² Institute brought a proposal for a state plant for the manufacture of penicillin, sulpha-drugs and anti-malarial drugs in India.³ This was drawn up by him as well as Dr. Ganapathy⁴ and Dr. Sankaran⁵ as a result of a tour in Europe to investigate the possibilities of such manufacture. The proposal was worked out in great detail and it showed that such a plant, put up by the State, was not only desirable, but was also of great financial advantage to the State and to the people. Although the cost of it was considerable, being about two crores, the output was so cheap and large-scale that the cost practically could be made good in a full year's working.

This proposal was considered in some detail by me and by the then Minister for Industry and Supply, Shri Rajagopalachari. Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel was also consulted as well as certain experts here. We were all unanimously of the opinion that this proposal should be given effect to as soon as possible.

1. File No. 17 (116)/48-PMS.
2. Waldemar Mordecai Wolff Haffkine (1860-1930); Russian bacteriologist; assisted Pasteur, 1889-93; bacteriologist to the Government of India, 1893-1915; introduced protective inoculation against cholera; founded a research laboratory in Bombay to manufacture vaccine. During World War II, S.S. Sokhey, then Director of the Haffkine Institute, started the production of serum and later the Institute took up the manufacture of sulpha-drugs.
3. Sokhey had submitted a report in 1946 for manufacture of sulpha-drugs and penicillin in India and recommended that plants be sponsored and controlled by the Government. An Industrial Research Committee was appointed with Sokhey as member.
4. Krishnamurthi Ganapathy (b. 1911); Assistant Director, Haffkine Institute, Bombay, 1941-53 and 1959-64; Research Superintendent and Works Manager, Hindustan Antibiotics, Pimpri, 1953-59; Director, Regional Research Laboratory, Jammu, 1964-71; Consultant, Central Institute for Medicinal and Aromatic Plants, Jammu and Srinagar, 1983-87.
5. G. Sankaran (d. 1959); joined All India Institute of Hygiene and Public Health, Calcutta; worked in Haffkine Institute, 1948; General Superintendent, Hindustan Antibiotics, Pimpri, 1953-58.

Subsequently political developments came in the way and we could not do much. From time to time I enquired about it and was rather disappointed at the delay that was taking place in giving effect to our decision.

I have now met General Sokhey again and enquired from him about this proposal. He has told me that it has not made very much progress so far but that, during his recent tour in Europe⁶, he made very useful contacts and is now in even a better position than he was previously to go ahead with this proposal. But apparently the matter has been considered afresh by Industry and Supply Ministry and some hitch has occurred involving a reference to Calcutta. I do not quite know what this is. I can hardly imagine that a scheme which has been produced after two years of labour and visits to Europe and America can be suddenly replaced by some new scheme which has not been vetted. In any event this would involve further delay, which would be unfortunate.

In a scheme of this kind the outstanding man who can be in charge of it is Sokhey with all his experience and special aptitude for this kind of work. I think we should go ahead with this scheme therefore with the greatest possible speed. Although it costs a great deal of money, the return is quick and substantial and, even from the anti-inflationary point of view, this is worthwhile. Sardar Patel is also of the same opinion.

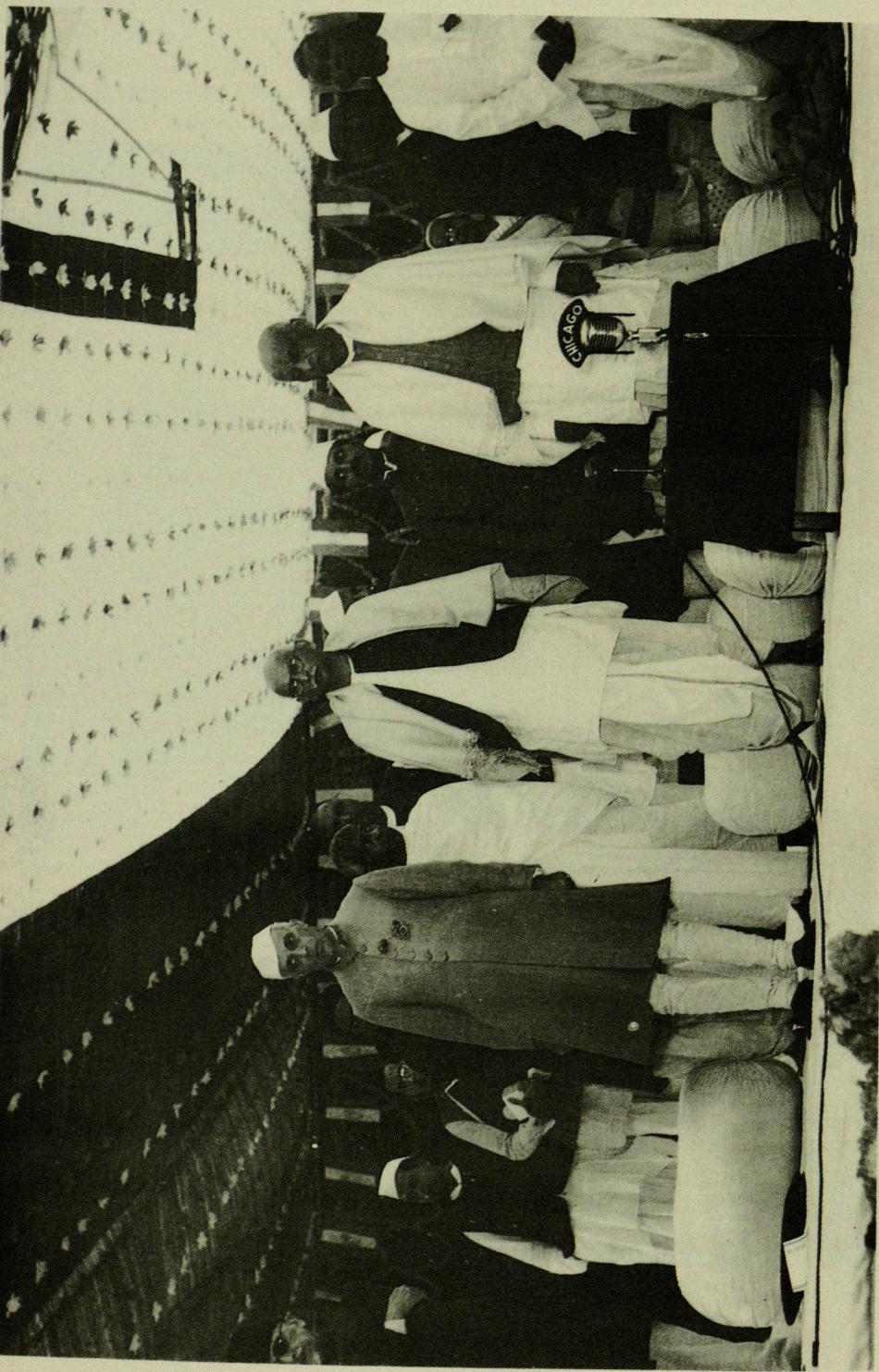
I hope therefore that you will be able to come to a rapid decision to go ahead with the scheme and to push it forward with all speed.⁷

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

6. Towards the end of 1948 Sokhey had headed an Indian Technical Mission which visited the U.S.A., Canada, Czechoslovakia and Sweden and other countries to study the working of plants manufacturing penicillin.
7. Syama Prasad Mookerjee replied on 22 November 1948 that they would come to a decision after further discussions with the Swedish firm Sokhey recommended and after a comparison with cost estimates brought from the U.S. by B.C. Roy.



AT THE A.I.C.C. SESSION, JAIPUR, DECEMBER 1948



WITH PATTABHI SITARAMAYYA AND VALLABBHAI PATEL AT THE OPENING OF THE
CONGRESS SESSION, JAIPUR, 18 DECEMBER 1948

2. National Savings Schemes¹

At any time it is desirable to encourage national savings, both from the point of the present and the future. In view of the economic situation that we are facing today, this has become an urgent necessity and every individual should realise his duty to it. It is an easy way of serving a national purpose and at the same time serving oneself. But easy ways are sometimes ignored and forgotten. Hence it has become necessary to emphasize the vital importance of national savings and I commend the Small Savings Scheme to the public. This is not a matter on which there is or can be any difference of opinion and therefore all of us should help in making this scheme a great success.

1. 22 November 1948. File No. 37 (28)/48-PMS.

3. Cable to V. K. Krishna Menon¹

Your letter 23rd November. Defence Research Policy Committee's proposal. We agree that up-to-date survey of mineral resources is necessary and we have made arrangements for such survey in India by eminent Indian geologists. We are prepared to cooperate with Commonwealth Committee in exchanging information but we do not think it will be desirable for any outside body to carry out surveys in India.

1. New Delhi, 1 December 1948. V.K. Krishna Menon Papers, N.M.M.L.

4. Working with Faith¹

Mr. Khosla,² Members of the Central Board of Irrigation, Your Excellencies and Gentlemen, I am happy to associate myself with this meeting of yours and I am thankful to you for having invited me on this occasion. I have been interested in many types of activities during the past few years and in the position I occupy now, I have to cultivate a manysided interest in several things. Life itself is a rather intricate and complicated affair for the individual and for the nation and it is sometimes difficult to say which of any two things is more important, for each depends upon the other. Nevertheless it is true, as I have said many times before and as you, Sir, have said in the course of your address, that the development of river valleys in India is of the most basic and fundamental importance. For a number of years past, I have been very greatly interested in this matter not as an engineer, because I am not an engineer, but in its wider public aspect of being, in a sense, the foundation of very large scale planning in India. I have been interested in planning because it seems such an extraordinary and such an unfortunate fact that with all the potential resources available in India, and in a way it applies to the whole world, that all these enormous resources have not been utilised to raise the standard of living of our people and our nation.

There was a time in the past—in the long past—when it might have been said with some correctness that the world's resources were not really enough to raise the standard of living of the population of the world to the extent desired. Now I suppose it must be clear to the meanest intelligence that with the proper utilisation of the present resources of the world, or of India if you like, we can raise the standard very greatly. That can be shown with a pencil and paper. Nevertheless the fact remains that not only did we not utilise them to the best advantage but we wasted these resources in destructive activities. That is the tragedy of the present generation, even more so than it has been of past generations.

As always found in history, we find to an acute degree today this conflict between the forces of constructive effort and of destruction. We find this conflict in the attitude of nations to one another, in groups and ultimately

1. Address to the nineteenth annual meeting of the Central Board of Irrigation, New Delhi, 5 December 1948. File No. 17 (107)/48-PMS.

2. A.N. Khosla.

perhaps in the spirit of man himself. Now no man can be prophet enough to say what is going to happen. Nevertheless any man can work effectively, with the faith in him that the forces of constructive and creative effort shall win. I have no doubt that they will win but I do not know what damage the other forces might bring about by delaying the process of planning and of raising the standard of humanity.

Well, we have to convert this vast potential into actuality. Look at the map of Asia and of India. It stares me in my room and in my office and whenever I look at it, all kinds of pictures come into my mind; pictures of the long past of our history, of the gradual development of man from the earliest stages, of great caravan routes, of the early beginning of culture, civilization and agriculture, and of the early days when perhaps the first canals and irrigation works were made and all that flows from them. Then I think of the future. My attention is concentrated on that huge block of massive mountains called the Himalayas which guard our northern frontier. Look at them. Think of them. Can you think of any other part of the world similar to it in extent, which is as great a reservoir of power, of potential strength and power? I know no other place in the world which has as much tremendous power locked up as in the Himalayas and the water which comes to the rivers from them. How are we to utilise it? There are many ways. Essentially it is the job of the engineers to tap this tremendous reserve of power for the benefit of the people. It falls to the lot of you engineers to play a very effective and vitally important role in this work. Looked at from that point of view the profession and work of an engineer in India is of the highest importance and significance.

You can judge of the growth of a nation by finding out which class of that nation, in a particular period of history, is held in honour and repute more than the others. At one time you may find that the land-holder, the proprietor of the land is a noble man and he is held in greatest esteem. From that you can judge the nature of the society of that period. So you will find various occupations occupying the forefront at different periods and you can come to some conclusion as to the nature of the social background of the society of the time; whether it is static, whether it is creative or whether its growth is dynamically constructive.

A short while ago, not to go back to the long past of history, it is very interesting to consider that a short while ago, in the last generation or two in India, there were two avenues to which Indians looked forward. One was government service, more especially administrative government service. Of course a state should have good administration. It is important. But the administrative service in India was of a rather unusual variety. It was good in so far as it went, in so far as it served the purpose for which it was meant. It was not meant for other purposes. It was not really meant to cultivate

a social outlook in the government or the people but in so far as it went it did its work well. Perhaps it may have been said thirty, forty or fifty years ago, that the ambition of an Indian was to belong to that administrative service in India because that brought respect and a certain measure of power, considerable emoluments in office and prestige. About the same time there was another branch. To those people who did not take up government service, the law provided the greatest opportunities of distinction, of money making and the like. So we find that in the past two or three generations in India there were two peaks of ambition of Indian young men: to rise in the superior administrative service or to rise in the profession of law. That of course has happened in other countries too. Now both these, the profession of law and administrative service, useful I suppose they are in their own way, though I have some doubts about the profession of the law, but both of them represented what might be called a static view of society, one not essentially changing or dynamic. The lawyer always talks about precedents. The administrator carries on with the aid of conventional practice. Of course there may have been a dynamic administrator and a dynamic lawyer but they represented a static, unchanging view of the society. No country can however, be completely unchanging. You find that the same lawyers played a very important part in the national movement. That again might be the same in other countries too. At a certain stage in a national movement the lawyer has played a great part in other countries also. Today you will find that the lawyer has progressively not played that part in the national movement or other varieties of national endeavour. He is still important in his own particular field of activity but that importance, looked at from a wider viewpoint, is infinitely less than it used to be. The civil administrator in India is still important as an administrator always is. But his importance is much less than it used to be.

What is a young man's ambition today? There may be varieties of ambitions but I rather doubt if there are quite so many people who think in terms of law or administrative service. They think in other terms. They think of the politicians' life or going to these assemblies and then becoming Ministers, Secretaries, etc. Not a very happy training for anybody but still people do look that way. They think of joining our defence services, the Army, the Air Force and the Navy. They think of becoming economists because an economist plays a big part in the modern world. They think of becoming engineers because engineers are playing and will play an important part. You see the static nature of our society gradually changing into something dynamic and that will be reflected in the peoples' and individuals' urge as to what profession they should take up.

The world as it is constituted today is tremendously dynamic. That is right of course and that is inevitable even if somehow we have been failing

in that because the world as it is constituted today is in a stage of revolutionary change of the kind that you just cannot help except to try but change yourself, otherwise, you get into trouble. Apart from that, coming back to India, we passed through a period—a fairly long one though it was very short in term of India's long history—a period which though changing undoubtedly was, nevertheless in another sense unchanging—this British period in our history. Changes worked consciously and unconsciously but when the superior outside power dominates a certain situation, the various forces that are working inside the country are curbed by that power and they cannot easily find balance and adjustment between themselves. That finding of balance is achieved by the evolutionary process or by a revolutionary process or by peaceful or violent means. Always in any human society there is an attempt to find balance and so long as it does not succeed, there is trouble. Now when some outside agency prevents that balance the result, for the moment may be even good if you like, but the result is that problems accumulate—problems which history solves in its own way, sometimes peacefully sometimes in a bloody way. If you do not solve it, you solve the problems by killing it. So also with nations and communities, but when this extraordinary agency prevents that solution, problems accumulate. So in India problems accumulated. The problem of the Indian States has no doubt been solved. Our agrarian problems which ought to have been solved long ago dragged on and on till we have to face them and to solve them in a hurry when these should have been solved gradually and in a much better way. Now because problems have accumulated we have today to face not one problem but a multitude of problems and it is very difficult to say that you set aside all those problems or take up one or two first. We just cannot, because if we slacken our attempt to solve some problems and merely concentrate on one or another, the other problems tend to overwhelm us. Let us take the problem of refugees—millions of them. It is not a fundamental problem as problems go. It is a temporary problem but it is of exceeding importance. It is important because a large number of human beings and their lives are involved and where human lives in large numbers are involved it is of vital significance to the nation. We cannot allow that human material to deteriorate and to simply go to pieces but apart from that, apart from the human aspect of it, if we try to ignore it, the problem becomes worse and comes in the way of other problems.

These accumulated problems have to be faced to some extent together. One has to proceed on various fronts and one has to see that progress is more or less coordinated on each front or else you go ahead in one front and there is a bottleneck and you have to stop. That is where planning comes in, planning becomes essential.

We have talked about planning for a considerable time in India. I myself

have been associated with the planning scheme and the like. I must confess to a feeling of exceeding disappointment that all our effort has not yielded better results as I expected and as results should have been. When you know what has happened in the past and our difficulties and our failings in the matter it is well, if I may say so, for each one of us whether he happens to occupy a very responsible position as a Prime Minister or other minister or any other important officer of the State, it is well always to think in terms of any problem that we are entrusted with, not as if failure was somebody else's fault but that we are ourselves responsible for any failure that may occur. There is too much of a tendency for each one of us and again I say—I include the Prime Minister and other ministers in this category,—always to think in terms of somebody else having failed. If each person thought of his own job and that he has failed in it we would get on better with the problem. The fact is that each major job requires the cooperation and the good work of a large number of persons from the top to the bottom and if that cooperation is lacking, this spirit of working together is lacking—then that job is not done properly or is delayed and then it does not serve much useful purpose for us to go on finding fault with each other though sometimes that may be necessary. We have various jobs to do in this country in every field. Somebody said once that we have been born in a period of world history which is both changing and revolutionary and many inconceivable things are happening. Now it is no good complaining of those inconceivable happenings. Since we are born we have to face them. We cannot escape. Not being able to escape we have to face them like men and conquer these difficulties. I am afraid in our generation—I do not know about succeeding generations—there is going to be little rest or real peace. There are going to be no dividends of leisure and repose brought about for our generation. The prospect before us is work, hard labour. This generation is sentenced to hard labour. That hard labour can be of the type of constructive activity which, however hard, is something that raises the community and the nation, or it may be in fruitless ways, or even in evil ways, but hard labour you cannot escape. Therefore let us divert that hard labour into constructive and creative channels so that at least it may be said of this generation that we helped to build up our country to the extent possible so that the next generation and succeeding generations may have leisure—greater leisure, though I am not myself keen on too much leisure for any individual but some leisure there ought to be. Perhaps it is not leisure that is so much required. It is the type of work that itself is better than the leisure. However, I am afraid I am just meandering in my thoughts and ideas.

I listened to Mr. Khosla's address with interest. I might say that I agree

with almost everything that he has said in his address.³ I like the approach and I hope it is going to be the approach of this Board and of engineers as a whole in India and of the Government. I do wish you to realise, the engineers who are present here, that the burden on the engineers today and the responsibility for constructive effort is tremendous and a great deal depends on how they discharge it, and in what spirit they discharge it. We want you to be first rate and competent in your jobs, because second-rateness is never good. It is bad for the nation. But in addition to that, we also want you to infuse your work with something, some higher spirit, of doing a fine creative job with some fulfilment of certain objectives and ideals, that immediately infuses into your work something which is bigger than you. To go back to the middle ages or to even older times you see still the remains of ancient buildings, ancient structures, temples, cathedrals, mosques and the like. No one knows who built them but any man who sees them knows that the people who built them were not only fine builders, fine engineers, but they were men of faith in their work. No man can build or construct anything so beautiful unless he has full faith in himself. See the magnificent cathedrals of Europe. People seldom know who were their builders but we do know, because the evidence is there for our eyes to see, that the embodiment of the faith of the builder is the engineer. So also our great temples and mosques and other buildings. Now we live in a different age. We do not spend so much time and energy on mosques, cathedrals and temples but in other types of public works. But those public works should also be fine and beautiful because there is that faith. So I would like you to work in that faith and you will find that if you work with that faith, and that spirit, that will itself be joy to you.

On a smaller matter Mr. Khosla mentioned something about the dictionary in Hindi of technical terms. I am glad to hear that. But may I warn you that in evolving terms, technical terms, you do not evolve something which the common man does not understand. There is too much of a tendency today for that. For my part I think that words from foreign languages which have become current coin in this country should be retained, retained partly because they are current coin, partly because the more words you have in common with the rest of the world the better for scientific and technical subjects. Science and technology know no frontiers. Nobody talks or ought

3. A.N. Khosla stressed the need for conservation and proper utilisation of water resources on a regional basis. He thought that the ideal arrangement would be to have the various projects staggered in point of execution so that while peak construction activity was proceeding on one or two projects, there would be only preparatory work and lesser construction activity on the others. Similarly, as the peak activity started tailing off on the former, the work on others should get into peak stride.

to talk about English Science, French Science, American Science, Chinese Science. Science is something bigger than the countries. There ought to be no such thing as Indian science; so also with technology. This great business of looking at these questions in a narrow nationalist way will ultimately lead to the narrowing of your science and the narrowing of your technology and your work itself. This business of evolving special terms which are neither known by the general public nor by anybody else in the wide world really means that you are isolating yourself from the general drift of knowledge and at the same time dissociating yourself from your own people who do not understand your technical terms and you convert yourself into something which nobody understand and nobody cares for. Gentlemen, I have great pleasure in declaring open the annual meeting of the Central Board of Irrigation.

5. Appeal Against Strikes¹

A country-wide strike at this stage² when the country is faced with an acute economic problem, will spell nothing but disaster. Besides hampering the distribution of essential commodities in various parts of the country the strike will also result in a serious set-back to the supplies for the Kashmir campaign.

We will soon be abolishing the zamindari system; but mere abolition of this system will not result in the prosperity of the peasants. This will simply throw open to the gates to progress; and prosperity can only be achieved if we all work hard and produce more.

America today is the richest country of the world simply because the

1. Address to kisan conference, 19 December 1948, Gandhinagar, Jaipur. From *National Herald*, 20 December 1948.
2. On 25 November 1948 the General Council of the All India Railwaymen's Federation had decided to direct all affiliated unions to take steps for a strike ballot. It also directed that 1 January 1949 be observed as a protest day.

production of that country is the highest. The wealth of a country is computed not by its gold and silver but by the essential goods produced by it. It is, therefore in the interest of the country as well as the peasants not to resort to strike but to get their grievances redressed by a suitable adjudication body which the Government can set up.

The activities of the Communists in India have always been directed into destructive channels but it is strange that the Socialists who, till the other day, were working with us are also acting in an irresponsible manner.

I have no material difference with the ideals of the Communists and I fully approve of the ideals and objects of the Socialists; but their means to achieve their ends are not good and desirable. Gandhiji had taught us that we should not only work for lofty ideals but also stick to desirable and good means.

The resolutions passed³ or the decisions taken by the Congress at the present session are of fundamental importance and involve certain basic principles, which are, as they ought to have been, the basis of the policy of the Government. But the Government has to see that it follows the right path and adopts the right means to carry out these resolutions. We have to walk on firmly, no matter if we have to walk slowly, as we cannot afford to stumble and fall due to haste.

Gandhiji had specifically laid down that the political policies based on fraud were always fraught with danger because, instead of deceiving the enemy or the opponent, these always misled their own people.

We are pledged to this teaching of Gandhiji not because we follow him blindly, but because we are convinced of the truth of every word of it.

Many problems confront the Government or have been solved by it; no doubt many intricate problems still remain to be tackled. Who could have foreseen a year ago that all the six hundred States would be integrated with India in such a peaceful manner? For solving the remaining problems, the Government has to depend on the cooperation of the people. If the people want, they can change the present Government instead of harassing it by tactics like strike. I would be only too glad to serve the country under someone whom the people choose to instal in my place but so long I am the Prime Minister, the cooperation of the people must come forth.

The R.S.S. people talk of Hindu culture and Hinduism when they do not understand it. The R.S.S. is an organisation based on narrow minded-

3. At the 55th session of the Congress held at Gandhinagar (Jaipur) on 18-19 December 1948 resolutions were passed on foreign policy and India's association with the Commonwealth, on foreign possessions in India, on communal harmony, on Mahatma Gandhi, on integration of the Indian states, in support of the Indonesian Republic and against the mistreatment of Indians in South Africa.

ness.⁴ From the ancient history of India it is apparent that whenever the people become narrow-minded, the country has a downfall.

I appeal to the people to keep their minds open and give up narrow-mindedness and divert all their efforts to constructive and creative channels, so that by their common and united endeavours the production of the country can be increased and the lot of the common man improved.

4. R.S.S. volunteers had been organising demonstrations against the ban on their organisation and as a sequence there had been arrests of active leaders and workers of the R.S.S. all over the country.

6. The Economic Programme of the Congress¹

This Congress generally approves the report and recommendations of the Economic Programme Committee of the All India Congress Committee.

In view of the economic crisis through which the country is passing, it is the duty of the Government as also of the people to cooperate together in furthering the objectives² that the Congress has laid down and in so spreading the burden of today, so that it may be shared by all and that none may escape it while others are crushed by it. The nation must undergo a period of austerity and must avoid all wasteful expenditure. Conscious and concerted effort must be made on a national scale to meet this crisis in production and price inflation.³

While it is essential to press forward large scale projects in order to increase the food supply and the power resources of the nation, so that the nation may be self-sufficient in regard to food and other essential commo-

1. Resolution drafted by Nehru and passed with additions at the Jaipur Congress on 19 December 1948. J.N. Collection.
2. The final draft read, "to further the objectives".
3. The following lines were added, "All the nation's resources, human and material, should be utilised to increase production. While the people must produce more, they must consume less and invest their savings in Government securities and undertakings. There must be economy all round. Government must ruthlessly cut down their expenditure consistently with the efficiency of administration and the safety of the state."

dities,⁴ this must be done in a planned manner. Attention must be specially directed to the rapid development of cottage and small scale industries, which will provide employment to many and will immediately add to the food in the country.⁵

⁶In order to strain every nerve to add to production, it is essential that industrial conflicts should be avoided, for each such conflict means loss of food and a setback to the nation. The Congress further appeals to all who are concerned in production to try their utmost to make every effort to this end. The proprietors of Industry should bring down

4. At this point, one line was added, "small scale projects should be particularly undertaken as they yield quicker results."
5. The last few words were amended as "and will immediately produce more consumers' goods. This plan of decentralised production should form part of the permanent economy of the country."
6. There was added here, "To assure the urban population, specially industrial workers a regular supply of foodgrains at the controlled rate during this period of shortage, foodgrains should be procured from the cultivator at a price remunerative to the cultivator and fair to the consumer after leaving enough for the peasant and his family. Peasants should cooperate with the Government in making the procurement of foodgrains a success. This Congress endorses the textile policy of the Government of India and calls upon the Provincial Governments to see that a fair quota of mill-cloth and other essential goods necessary for a minimum standard of living be made available at controlled rates, preferably through cooperatives, to the villagers. The services of the A.I.S.A. and A.I.V.I.A. should be enlisted to organise an intensive campaign throughout the country for production of Khadi and other commodities.

In order to put forth the utmost effort in production, it is essential that industrial and agrarian conflict should be avoided, for each such conflict means loss in production and a setback to the nation. The Congress congratulates the Central Government on its efforts in the interest of industrial truce and social insurance and recommends early establishment in all the provinces, States and Unions on a uniform basis, of statutory machinery for the resolution of industrial disputes in a just and peaceful manner, and also the establishment of machinery, Central, regional and functional, for the study and determination of fair wages and conditions of labour and fair remuneration of capital, and methods for the association of labour in all matters concerning industrial production such as formation of Central, regional and unit production committees."

their profits and help in raising production. Labour must realise that every strike at this stage is a grave ill service to the general community.⁷

7. There was added, "The Government of India have announced their Industrial Policy favouring a Mixed Economy and leaving a very large sector for development and expansion by private enterprise. The industrialists in this hour of crisis must do their duty by the nation. While it is the policy of the Congress to see that the industries are operated in the interest of the nation and the key industries are progressively brought under State control and ownership, it is not its intention to injure the legitimate interests of the industrialists.

The Central, Provincial, States and Union Governments are further requested to take steps to have adequate housing facilities provided for industrial labour. Locally available materials should be used to the largest possible extent in order to lessen cost and expedite construction.

The Congress is fully aware of the hardships due to the rising cost of living and the defective system of settlement of disputes and is anxious to find effective remedies for both. At the same time the Congress would like to place the working class on its guard against the disruptive forces which want to exploit the working class for the fulfilment of their political aims. There is no better and greater duty today for all those engaged in industry in whatever capacity than to keep the wheels of production constantly going."

ii. STATISTICAL COORDINATION

1. To Gyan Chand¹

New Delhi

November 24, 1948

My dear Gyan Chand,²

Your letter of the 24th November.³ I do not think I need meet the Standing Committee of Departmental Statisticians just yet.⁴ As you will find our Cabi-

1. File No. 17 (56)/56-PMS.
2. Financial adviser to Nehru and the Cabinet.
3. Gyan Chand had written that the Standing Committee of Departmental Statisticians would be available for discussion that afternoon.
4. Before the creation of the Central Statistical Organisation (C.S.O.) a Standing Committee of Departmental Statisticians met from time to time. After the creation of the C.S.O. this was replaced by the Joint Conferences of Central and State statisticians as the main consultative body on statistical coordination and development.

net took another step today which really followed from their previous decision. We have formally set up a Statistical Unit of the Cabinet and put you in charge of it. The remaining staff of the Development Board will be utilized by you to the extent you need. I believe the Committee of Statisticians has suggested five officers for this unit. You can have these officers as and when you need them and when you find suitable persons. Do not appoint them straight off.

I think you might take over Pitamber Pant.

As for the nature of work you should do, I should like to discuss it with you. First, among other things, you will have to supervise the collection of proper statistics about the refugees. We want not only to know the position as it is but to have frequent reports about the progress made in rehabilitation. Perhaps this matter might be entrusted to Pitamber Pant working under you. The real work for collecting the statistics about the refugees should be done in the Refugee and Rehabilitation Ministry. But this should be carried on under your general advice and supervision and you will present the statistics collected by them in proper form to the Cabinet.

Cabinet have entrusted Dr. Matthai and me with the organisation of this work, so that we can go ahead without any further reference to the Cabinet.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

2. Statistical Organisation¹

For some time past the need for developing the statistical organisation of the Government of India has been under consideration. It has been felt that there is a great deal of room for this improvement as well as for a proper coordination of the work being done at present. It is not possible to form any correct estimate of progress made in any sphere of activity without adequate statistical information. For instance, we have for some years past laid stress on a grow-more-food campaign. But we have no proper statistical data available which would enable us to form an opinion about the success

1. Note to all Ministries, 27 November 1948. File No. 17 (56)/56-PMS.

SELECTED WORKS OF JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

or otherwise of this campaign. It is essential for the Cabinet to have a true picture of changing conditions in India in order to be able to decide correctly.

With this object in view it is proposed to start a central statistical organisation. This matter is under the consideration of our various economists and statisticians employed by the Government of India. They will consult Professor Mahalanobis² and as soon as their proposals are ready, they will be considered by the Cabinet.

Meanwhile the Cabinet has decided to constitute a Standing Committee of Departmental Economists and also a Standing Committee of Departmental Statisticians. Dr. Gyan Chand is the Chairman of both of these Standing Committees.

Cabinet have also decided to start a small statistical unit as a part of the Cabinet Secretariat. This will be called the Economic and Statistical Coordination Section of the Cabinet Secretariat and Dr. Gyan Chand will be in charge of it.

The work of this section will be to get all the available information from the existing statistical organisations of the various ministries and to present this periodically in proper form to the Cabinet. The Section will not interfere in any way with the present activities of the ministries in their statistical departments. It will seek, however, to coordinate these activities and to give such advice as it may think proper about future work.

The Section will also examine various development schemes of the Centre and the Provinces and report to the Priorities Committee or to the Cabinet, as the case may be, in regard to these schemes.

The section will further help the Relief and Rehabilitation Ministry in the collection and proper arrangement of statistics about the refugees.

I trust that all the Ministries and Departments will offer their fullest help to Dr. Gyan Chand and the Economic and Statistical Coordination Section in this work. Full information should be supplied to him and where there are inter-departmental talks in regard to statistical matters or where there are developmental schemes to be considered, it will be advantageous to have a representative of this Coordination Section present.

The Cabinet attaches considerable importance to the work of this Co-ordination Section of the Cabinet Secretariat. I have no doubt that each Ministry will realise its importance and appreciate that this will prove helpful to the Ministry itself.

2. Director, Indian Statistical Institute, Calcutta.

3 To Chief Ministers¹

New Delhi

November 27, 1948

My dear Premier,

The Government of India have decided to start an Economic and Statistical Coordination Section of the Cabinet Secretariat. This will be in charge of Dr. Gyan Chand.² The work of this Section will be to coordinate the statistical work of the Government of India, to give such advice in the carrying out of this work as it may consider desirable, to collect information from various Ministries and Departments, and to present these in proper form, with its own comments, to the Cabinet. This will enable the Cabinet to form a fairly accurate picture of changing conditions in India.

The Coordination Section will also consider developmental schemes both of the Centre and the Provinces and report on them to the Priorities Committee or the Cabinet, as the case may be.

I shall be grateful to you and your Government if you will give your full cooperation to this Economic and Statistical Coordination Section of the Cabinet Secretariat. Both in regard to statistical and developmental matters, the Section should be kept fully informed. In particular, I would request you to arrange to send your development schemes to this Coordination Section. I might add that the old Development Board has ceased to be and has been absorbed in the Coordination Section.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. Circular letter to Chief Ministers of nine provinces. File No. 17 (56)/56-PMS.

2. See *ante*, item 1.

iii. RURAL PROBLEMS**1. To Sri Krishna Sinha¹**

New Delhi

November 21, 1948

My dear Sri Babu,

I have your letter of the 17th November.

I must express my regret to you for the delay and confusion that has

1. J.N. Collection.

arisen in this matter of the Bihar Zamindari Abolition Bill.² I think the Bihar Government acted rather precipitately in proceeding with the measure without taking the Government of India into its confidence at an early stage and without considering all the consequences. But I also think that the Government of India have been lax in this matter and some of your criticisms are justified.

On my return from Europe, this was one of the first matters which came up before me and I was distressed to find that everything had been held up because of differing opinions of lawyers. For my part I do not agree with the Advocate-General's³ opinion and I think Shri Varadachari's⁴ opinion is at least as much entitled to our consideration. However, there is this conflict.

This raises a very important question for us. If the Advocate-General's opinion is correct, then manifestly we cannot have any abolition of zamindaris by payment of compensation because few provinces can pay this heavy compensation in cash. This means completely ignoring our election pledge on this most vital matter.

Then again, as you have pointed out, the draft constitution itself leaves matters vague. We must remove this vagueness and make it perfectly clear that compensation can be paid, if necessary, in non-negotiable and non-transferable bonds.

Meanwhile, I think the immediate suggestion you have made about zamindaries with an income of above Rs. 5000/- is worthy of consideration.

I can quite understand the difficulties you have to face in this matter and the agitation that is bound to arise in Bihar on account of our delay. I hope that we shall arrive at some decision fairly soon. If necessary, we may ask you to send a representative of yours to discuss the matter with us.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

2. The Bihar Abolition of Zamindari Bill was facing difficulties regarding payment of compensation through bonds. Legal opinion held that payment should be made only in cash as provided in Section 299 of the Government of India Act. But the Centre had decided not to grant any financial assistance to provinces for zamindari abolition as an anti-inflationary measure. The only way open to Bihar Government was to issue non-negotiable bonds with a ceiling; this also required amendment of the Central Act.
3. Mahabir Prasad.
4. S. Varadachari.

2. To Sri Krishna Sinha¹

New Delhi
November 24, 1948

My dear Sri Babu,

I wrote to you two or three days ago² about the Bihar Zamindari Abolition Bill. The letter was sent to Patna. I do not know if you have got it. We considered the matter again in Cabinet today. It is no good trying to find out whose fault it is now. But the fact remains that we are in a fix. On the one side you have to face a very difficult position in Bihar and mere postponing or doing nothing will lead to a very grave agitation among the kisans, non-payment of rents and possibly attempts to take some kind of a forcible possession of the land. On the other hand we have not only the legal difficulty but other difficulties also. How are we to get out of it?

The matter must be discussed with you and other Bihar representatives fully because we are all eager to find a way out. We must consider it from the practicable point of view and try to steer clear of these difficulties. Cabinet has appointed a committee today to confer with you.

A suggestion has been made that we might proceed on the following lines:—

- (1) Take the power to acquire all zamindaries.
- (2) Actual acquisition to be for cash payment.
- (3) By mutual agreement acquisition may be on payment of non-negotiable bonds.
- (4) All other zamindaries which are not acquired should be taken over by Government as a first step towards acquiring them. Till such acquisition Government will realise rents, pay the zamindar's share to him minus collection charges which may be fixed at a certain percentage. This must be viewed not merely as a kind of court of wards procedure but as a first step towards acquisition. That is to say the land will not go back to the zamindar.

Regarding the change in law, the only possibility seems to be that the proposed change should apply to agricultural land only. Otherwise there will be great difficulties.

I should like you to give thought to these suggestions and discuss them with our Committee.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. J.N. Collection.

2. See preceding item.

3. To N. G. Ranga¹

New Delhi

November 24, 1948

My dear Ranga,

I am surprised to find that an attempt is being made in parts of the Madras Presidency to resist the imposition of controls or in the alternative to ask for a considerable enhancement in the procurement prices. At the instance of the Madras Government, procurement prices were fixed at fifty per cent above the 1947 level. We agreed to this reluctantly and now in spite of this, there is an agitation among the kisans of some of the districts of Madras not to cooperate in procurement.²

I confess I find this very irresponsible behaviour. Everyone of us of course and every group wants as much as it can get. I have every sympathy for the kisans. But in this particular matter whether they are kisans of Madras or U.P., I think they are acting in too selfish a way. Obviously if we encourage them, it means a collapse of our entire scheme. It is no good for the kisans to say that they do not want controls simply because they want as high a price as possible. High prices have brought us to the present unhappy pass and if they continue going up, we shall collapse.³

I think therefore that it is upto each one of us to make it perfectly clear in firm language that this kind of agitation is definitely against the interests of the country and should not be encouraged. So far as the kisans are concerned, they are often enough amenable to a reasonable argument. But it is those who advise them, who can keep them on the right path or leave them astray.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. J.N. Collection.

2. A marked decrease in tonnage was noticed in procurement of rice in Madras province. It was reflected more in Malabar, Tanjore and West Godavari districts.

3. In the last week of November 1948 the Madras Government ordered intensive procurement of foodgrains and proposed to introduce statutory rationing from December.

iv. SCIENTIFIC RESEARCH

1. Atom for Peace¹

India is interested in atomic energy not with the object of making bombs but for peaceful purposes.

There is a great field and vast potentiality for scientific development in India. Our scientific workers have plenty of talent and would be happy to cooperate with British scientists in developing Indian science and research.

The story of India during the thirty years under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi has been very dramatic.

I do not know how far it was due to India herself except that India happened to produce a man like Gandhi. Gandhi himself was the epitome of the drama and his whole life was full of restraint, artistry and poetry and so was his death.

A person grows with the work he does and if he aligns himself to a great cause some shadow of that greatness comes to him also.

It was our high privilege to attach ourselves to great causes and a very great personality. Now we have to live up to that greatness. We have accumulated some capital in these past years and we have been living on that capital. I am almost sure we have not added to that capital. We have to add to it.

If we ally ourselves in earnestness to other great causes that flow from the past, we too will attain higher standards and a measure of greatness wherever we might be.

1. Speech at a meeting of scientists in London, 22 October 1948. From *National Herald*, 24 October 1948.

2. Tenure for Scientists¹

On the 30th of June a letter was sent from the P.M.'s Secretariat to the Secretary, Federal Public Service Commission, about Dr. S.S. Bhatnagar. This stated that it would be desirable to extend Dr. Bhatnagar's period of

1. Note to Principal Private Secretary, 28 November 1948. File No. 21 (178)/48-PMS.

SELECTED WORKS OF JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

service by another year, i.e., to the end of February 1950. The Federal Public Service Commission has kindly agreed to this suggestion.

On reconsidering this matter it seems to me that an extension for a year is hardly sufficient. The age limit for retirement from our service is not suitable for scientists who function differently from ordinary civil servants and the like. In fact many scientists do their best work in later years. We have a great lack of eminent scientists and we can ill-spare them. Normally, therefore, it is desirable to keep them on for as long as they are capable of good work. Dr. Bhatnagar and some other prominent scientists in India are doing important work and are capable of continuing to do so for a number of years. Therefore the application of the old age limits would be harmful in our interest. The extension by a year does not appear to me to be quite sufficient. This leaves a sense of insecurity in the minds of those affected as well as the Government and big schemes with which they are concerned, may suffer somewhat.

I suggest therefore that in the case of Dr. Bhatnagar it might be decided that this age limit will not apply, or, in the alternative, that provisionally we might, say, give an extension of three years. Similar considerations might apply to other eminent scientists also, though of course each individual case should be judged on its merits.

I shall be grateful if the Federal Public Service Commission considers this matter.

V. IMPORT OF TRACTORS

1. Cable to Jairamdas Doulatram¹

Regarding Ferguson² tractors. I have further gone into this matter and am convinced that they are most suitable for India. There is tremendous world demand for them even from America. I am arranging for thirty or forty such tractors to be sent to India for experimental purposes.³

1. Paris, 27th October 1948. File No. 31(34)/48-PMS.
2. Harry George Ferguson (1884-1960); British industrialist; built and flew his own airplane in Ireland, 1909; inventor, Ferguson system of agricultural production, an integrated tractor-implement system, 1936; contributed to development of automobile transmissions, chassis and braking systems.
3. It was on his visit to Broadlands, England, in October 1948 that Nehru was impressed by the performance of the Ferguson tractor.

2. To Jairamdas Doulatram¹

New Delhi

November 21, 1948

My dear Jairamdas,

During my visit to Srinagar yesterday, I was told that it was possible to develop food production very rapidly in the valley if they could have the use of some tractors. I do not know if it is possible for you to spare any of these or otherwise to arrange for sending them. If it is at all possible, I would suggest that two tractors, or even one, might be sent before the winter sets in earnest. That would make a great difference to food production there.

You will remember that I sent you a telegram from London about the Ferguson tractor. I received your reply. I must confess that I was not convinced by that reply. I still think that the Ferguson tractor is probably the most suitable in the market for our purposes here. Its cheapness and the facility with which it can be handled for all purposes are great advantages. Why a petrol-driven tractor should be excluded and what principles are applied in coming to this decision, I have not understood. Even if those principles hold good in regard to big tractors, they do not hold good in regard to relatively small machines.

As I told you, I have asked the High Commissioner's office to send us about twenty or thirty such tractors for us to experiment with them. I suggest that you might keep in touch with our High Commissioner in London about this matter and ask him what steps he has taken.²

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. File No. 31 (34)/48-PMS.

2. Jairamdas replied that he would send for the Ferguson tractors but pointed out that petrol driven tractors were high in fuel cost and petrol was a rationed commodity. One or two tractors would be sent to Kashmir but technical staff and repairing facilities would also be necessary.

SELECTED WORKS OF JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

3. To Jairamdas Doulatram¹

New Delhi
24 November 1948

My dear Jairamdas,

Thank you for your letter of the 22nd November about sending tractors to Kashmir. I quite agree with you. I am sending a telegram to Sheikh Abdullah,² a copy of which I enclose. Meanwhile I should like you to proceed with arrangements for sending two tractors. It would be desirable to send at least one man with them to look after them for a while.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. File No. 31 (34)/48-PMS.

2. See the next item.

4. Telegram to S. M. Abdullah¹

When in Srinagar I was asked for some tractors to be sent as soon as possible. We shall try to send you one or two tractors soon but we must know clearly that you have necessary technical staff and facilities for petty repairs before the tractors can be sent. Without expert supervision tractors go wrong easily. Please therefore let me know if you have this technical staff.

1. New Delhi, 25 November 1948. File No. 31 (34)/48-PMS.

2

KASHMIR

I. At the United Nations

1. Cable to N. Gopalaswami Ayyangar¹

Thus far no talks about Kashmir except the vague hopes expressed by British Ministers in favour of settlement. Have not met Liaquat Ali Khan except at Conference.

2. During lunch today with Bevin and Cripps, former brought up question of Kashmir. Noel-Baker, who was also present, took up his usual line of something being done which is agreeable to both parties concerned. I commented that I was thoroughly dissatisfied with approach to this problem without regard to ethics or decency. We had no doubt accepted idea of plebiscite but such plebiscite would in any event be greatly delayed. Moral aspect of problem must be considered and we were not going to put up with aggression and gangsterism. Pakistan's aggression had been established and yet we were being asked to contribute to solution on some vague basis of generosity. We had accepted Commission's ceasefire resolution while Pakistan had rejected it.² There was nothing more to be done on our side in this respect. Bevin said he was not familiar with all facts. He came into this business because matter was before Security Council and he would like to see a settlement. Cripps said that primary effort must be to get Pakistan to accept United Nations Commission's Resolution on ceasefire and truce. Noel-Baker said that since Commission would soon be reporting, we might await their report. Finally I was asked whether I could meet Liaquat Ali. I replied that I did not see much good coming out of such a meeting. When asked whether meeting could do any harm, I said probably not, and I have no objection to it. It is probable, therefore, that meeting might be arranged between Attlee, Bevin, Liaquat Ali and me. I do not expect anything to come of this and you need not postpone any action because of it. Such action should be judged entirely by local considerations and possibilities.

1. London, 18 October 1948. J.N. Collection. Copies of this cable were sent to Vallabhbhai Patel and Baldev Singh.
2. The reference is to the resolution of 13 August 1948 of the U.N. Commission for India and Pakistan.

2. Cable to A. V. Pai¹

Please inform Sardar Patel, Gopalaswami Ayyangar and Defence Minister that our conversations regarding Kashmir have yielded no result. Liaquat Ali expressed his earnest desire for peace and laid stress on plebiscite under suitable conditions which meant conditions laid down in Security Council resolution. He said he was prepared to accept Commission's resolution if these plebiscite conditions attached to it. My reply was that these matters had been fully gone into and Commission then arrived at their decision. Only two courses open now, either for both countries to accept Commission's resolution or for us to come to final decision by agreeing to certain areas in western Poonch and north western territories being allotted to Pakistan. Ernest Bevin taking rather leading part in discussions although his knowledge of question limited. He thinks rather in terms of plebiscite but I pointed out to him difficulties. I may meet Bevin again.

1. London, 22 October 1948. J.N. Collection. A.V. Pai was the Principal Private Secretary at this time.

3. Cable to A. V. Pai¹

Please communicate following to Sardar Patel, Defence Minister and Gopalaswami Ayyangar. Begins: Have discussed Kashmir situation with Liaquat Ali Khan, Attlee and Bevin jointly and separately with Attlee, Bevin and Stafford Cripps. These discussions have yielded no results and have left things as they were. I do not think anything else can be done here at this stage. Probably report of United Nations Commission on Kashmir will come out soon.

1. Paris, 27 October 1948. J.N. Collection.

4. Cable to Vallabhbhai Patel¹

Had long private interview with Liaquat Ali Khan. Discussed Kashmir situation. No progress made in spite of repeated assurance on each side of necessity for peaceful settlement. Differences basically too great to be bridged over. Liaquat Ali would not agree to United Nations Commission's Resolution as it is unless terms plebiscite settled... He insisted on Security Council's conditions for plebiscite to be accepted by us or in alternative, for full powers to be given to Plebiscite Commissioners to lay down any conditions they choose. I told him it was impossible for us to hand over any governmental functions to Plebiscite Commission though they can exercise

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2. Discussed East Bengal exodus. Liaquat Ali said he was entirely opposed to this and would like to do all in his power to prevent it. He proposes to tour East Bengal for ten days from about 18th November. He wants to meet minority leaders and discuss situation with them and would like them to speak quite frankly to him about their difficulties. Would also like to meet Premier West Bengal. He said he considered it his sacred duty to satisfy minorities.

3. I drew Liaquat Ali's attention to the false and malicious accounts in *Dawn* newspaper about occurrences in Hyderabad. He said that while they might be exaggerated he himself had received information from Hyderabad which was very distressing. I told him that Hyderabad had been, was and is astonishingly quiet and peaceful and information freely came from it without any censorship. He was under idea that there was strict censorship. He said that it would allay anxiety if Pakistan High Commissioner² in Delhi could visit Hyderabad and report. I pointed out that official visits of this kind

SELECTED WORKS OF JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

5. Cable to V. K. Krishna Menon¹

Your telegram No. 152-D dated November 9th Kashmir Commission. Please inform Graeffe² that while we are desirous of cooperating in any procedure he suggests it is difficult for us to send any suitable person to Paris for some time. It would not be any good to send a person not fully acquainted with the problem. Vellodi³ has recently taken charge of States secretaryship and will not be able to leave this important work.

Any person sent there could only transmit messages to us for consideration here. I should like to know more definitely Commission's programme and for how long they would like someone on our behalf to be present in Paris.

1. New Delhi, 10 November 1948. File No. KS-53/48, Ministry of States, M.H.A. This cable was repeated to Vijayalakshmi Pandit, leader of Indian delegation to the U.N. in Paris.
2. Harry Graeffe, son of Egbert Graeffe, was acting for his father as Representative of Belgium on the U.N. Commission for India and Pakistan from 4 November 1948 to February 1949.
3. M.K. Vellodi.

6. Cable to G. S. Bajpai¹

Your telegram 2269 dated 11th November.

I do not myself see how any agreement can be arrived at about conditions of plebiscite and I dislike tacking this question to ceasefire resolution which to that extent is bypassed. However we cannot refuse informal consultation. Our general approach has been made clear in my last telegram.

In view of this I think you should stay on in Paris for another week if necessary.

1. New Delhi, 12 November 1948. File No. 3 (4)-UN-I/48, M.E.A. & C.R., N.A.I. G.S. Bajpai, Secretary General, Ministry of External Affairs, was in Paris at this time.

7. Cable to V. K. Krishna Menon¹

Proposals contained in your letter dated 7th November.² Proposal for unconditional ceasefire, and so accepting military positions as they are and simultaneous appointment of mediator would mean accepting position taken up by Pakistan in toto. We have repeatedly rejected every such proposal for unconditional ceasefire because this would be condoning, even though temporarily, Pakistan invasion of Kashmir and right of their armies to remain in Kashmir territory where they are. This would also mean repudiation of Kashmir Commission's resolution which was passed after they had explicitly rejected proposal for unconditional ceasefire, we cannot accept this.

For Kashmir Commission or Security Council or mediator to proceed on fresh basis ignoring Commission's resolution simply because Pakistan did not accept it, would mean reversing present position and always casting burden on us to do something to find solution. It must be remembered that Pakistan is aggressor and secondly that they have refused to accept Commission's resolution which was passed after full local investigation and considerations of State history. This is unfair to us and this procedure can lead to no finality.

While we have no objection to mediator on principle, it is not clear how his coming without a previous ceasefire on the lines indicated by Kashmir Commission would be helpful.

Agree with your views contained in paragraphs 9D³ and 10.⁴ That is to say that essential preliminary should be acceptance of ceasefire proposals con-

1. New Delhi, 15 November 1948. V.K. Krishna Menon Papers, N.M.M.L.
2. Krishna Menon informed Nehru that Stafford Cripps had suggested on 5 November, a new plan: Since the Kashmir Commission's report would be inconclusive and would "offer neither solutions nor comments", Cripps suggested that General Eisenhower should be sent to Kashmir as Mediator. The Security Council "should order a ceasefire...without going into the questions of withdrawal", and "simultaneously the mediator, with or without the U.N. Commission for advice, should arrive in Kashmir."
3. Krishna Menon wrote: "If the U.K. puts forward the whole of Sir Stafford's proposal, it creates embarrassment for us and if we accepted it, it would create greater difficulties for the Government of India and lead to greater conflict and disorder, if not a feeling of betrayal among our people in Kashmir."
4. Krishna Menon had said that India should accept the mediator proposal provided the Security Council, at the same time, called upon both sides to accept the ceasefire proposals. He felt that India should not "get involved in some U.N. machinery which would result in our being faced with an award or in the Kashmir Government being displaced."

SELECTED WORKS OF JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

tained in Commission's resolution. On that basis mediator maybe appointed otherwise whole question is reopened and we get involved more and more in U.N. machinery which we would like to avoid. It would seem that whenever facts favour us some way is sought to be found to overcome them.

I am not at all enamoured of these proposals, though I do not wish to say no to any suggestion for mediation. But that can only yield results if Pakistan is made to act as recommended by the Kashmir Commission.

I have made it clear to people, my colleagues as well as Pakistan that only two courses are open.

(1) Acceptance by both parties of Commission's ceasefire and truce proposals and then consideration of the next step in order to ascertain will of Kashmir people.

(2) Some immediate settlement between both parties concerned on the basis of certain frontier areas being kept by Pakistan such as western Poonch and territory north-west of river Kishenganga. Strategic points like Muzaffarabad must in any event remain with Kashmir State, as otherwise will be no security and no clear boundary.

You may if you like, repeat these arguments to Attlee. I do not myself see how we can go further than what I told people in England.

I might inform you that there have been some notable successes for us in Ladakh region. General military outlook is of some further minor success complete clearing of north-eastern mountains and valleys, and some progress in clearing route to Poonch. The main Uri-Tithwal sector is not going to be affected either way till we resume operations on a larger scale after winter. It appears enemy morale has been badly affected by our recent successes and by growing belief that Pakistan cannot conquer Kashmir. This is noticeable enough in some places but we must not rely upon this too much.

Received your telegram No. 2324 dated 13th November.

8. To V. K. Krishna Menon¹

New Delhi
November 18, 1948

My dear Krishna,

I have just received a letter from the U.K. High Commissioner² here conveying a message from Attlee to me. This message is as follows:

1. V.K. Krishna Menon Papers, N.M.M.L.
2. Archibald Nye.

1. "I am informed that a communication is being made to the Security Council alleging that Indian Army and Air Force operating in Kashmir have recently been considerably reinforced and that Indian Forces have started an all-out offensive in the State.
2. I sincerely trust that you will be able to assure me that this is not the fact. Remembering the reassurances from yourself and the Prime Minister of Pakistan when you were in London, I am sure that neither of you would wish to settle the fate of Kashmir by military force."

I shall in the course of a day or two send you a reply to it for Attlee. But I should like to make the position clear so that when opportunity offers you can explain it to Attlee or anyone else.

As is well known now, Pakistan have collected very large forces in various parts of Kashmir State territory. The biggest concentration is in the Uri-Tithwal area. Then there are forces in western Poonch right upto Mirpur, and in the northern mountain region, in Baltistan and parts of Ladakh valley. During the last several months there has been continuous pressure on us and some large scale attacks. Reports reach us almost daily of large convoys of M.T.—two to three hundred at a time—going from Pakistan to their forward areas in Kashmir conveying either troops or material. Statements are made by the Azad Kashmir people that they are going to launch large scale offensive and drive out the Indian Union and Abdullah and company from the whole of Kashmir State in the course of the next few months.

You may remember that when I was in Paris there was a big offensive from the Pakistan side on the Uri-Tithwal front. This was repulsed. On other fronts also there has been continual pressure.

It is not clear to me what Attlee expects us to do. Are we to sit tight and watch all this happening, are we just to remain where we are and resist when attacked and not attack ourselves, or are we to take all necessary measures to protect ourselves and to push back the invaders? There is either a ceasefire and truce or there is not. There is no middle stage except in so far as various circumstances may lead to a moderation of military operations. Consequently it is incumbent on us to protect our possessions and where we find ourselves weak, to add to our strength. As a matter of fact there has not been much in the way of reinforcement of the Indian Army and Air Force operating in Kashmir for the very simple reason that we have not got resources to spare for it. Nearly all our forces there have been in continuous action for nearly a year without rest. We have hardly any reserves in Kashmir and all our military forces are practically engaged on battle fronts. They are tired and

badly need rest. We try to shift them about where possible. Sometimes an additional regiment is sent if we can spare it.

As for the Air Force also, there is not much room for additions to be made, but occasionally, some additional small planes are sent.

During the last few weeks we have undertaken two operations, both of them to prevent a serious development against us. One was across the Zoji La towards the Ladakh valley. If we did not go there, Leh was endangered and the whole caravan route to Central Asia was cut off from us. This was a difficult operation at a height of about 12,000 feet. The Indian Army deserves credit for the success it has achieved in it. We are now at Dras and hope to reach Kargil soon.³ That will relieve Leh.

Our second operation is for the relief of Poonch by road. This is also proceeding fairly satisfactorily. Both these operations are relatively minor operations.

Frankly, we would have undertaken a major operation at Uri-Tithwal, if we had been in a position to do so. There is going to be, however, no such operation during the winter months.

I do not understand what "reassurances" Attlee is talking about. Certainly, I do not want to settle the fate of Kashmir by military force. But equally certainly, if the Pakistan people go on employing their army against us in Kashmir, we shall meet them by military force and try our best to defeat them and push them out. It seems to be forgotten that the Pakistan Army is in Indian Union territory and that all the fighting thus far has been in our territory. Further, it is worth remembering, specially by Attlee, that the Pakistan Army is led and largely officered by Englishmen. We have repeatedly drawn Attlee's attention to this fact, but apparently nothing happens. The other day Messervy,⁴ the late Commander-in-Chief of Pakistan delivered a speech somewhere in England advocating Pakistan's right to Kashmir. I think this was very improper for a British officer.

I think it should be made perfectly clear to Attlee that with all our dislike for the use of military force, we have no alternative whatever to its use so long as Pakistan armies are functioning in our territory, or so long as a ceasefire and truce are not agreed to. We have agreed to the United Nations ceasefire proposals, but Pakistan has not. We certainly are not going to tolerate, in these circumstances, Pakistan entrenching itself in our territory and carrying out offensive from time to time.

I have just had a telegram from Sri Prakasa from Karachi in which he tells me that he had a long private talk with Liaquat Ali, who spoke among

3. The Indian forces recovered the strategic townships of Dras, north of Zoji La, no 15-16 November, Kargil on 24 November and Khalatse on 23 November 1948.

4. Frank Walter Messervy.

other things about Kashmir. He has made it clear that he would not tolerate any division of Kashmir and insists on a plebiscite for a decision of Kashmir's fate as one unit. He proposes that on basis of 1941 census all non-Muslims in Gilgit, Poonch, Jammu and Ladakh be presumed for India and all Muslims for Pakistan. The plebiscite should be taken in Kashmir valley under neutral auspices and votes pooled together and Kashmir's fate decided as one unit.

This is a fantastic proposal to which we could never agree. We are prepared as ever to have a plebiscite, but not in this way.

What I have written above is meant for your personal information. You can use such part of it as you consider proper in any talk you may have with Attlee.

I might add that winter prospects of fighting are:

Our clearing up the Ladakh valley (which we are in process of doing now), our establishing a safe route to Poonch from the Jammu side (which we are also doing now), and our gradually extending the area under our control in Jammu Province to Kotli and round about. This is not very much, but this is about all that we can do in winter conditions. We can perhaps attack Mirpur, but that would be a major operation requiring a great deal of preparation and taking time. On the main front, Uri-Tithwal, no great change is likely. For the present we are avoiding any major operation towards Mirpur partly because that might lead to complications near the Pakistan frontier. We hope, during the winter, to build some more roads and collect material and supplies for possible offensives.

All this is secret information which should not be divulged to others.

I just do not understand what Attlee means by this kind of message to me. I find it rather irritating.

Yours,
Jawaharlal

9. Cable to V. K. Krishna Menon¹

...Should like to repeat that we have taken no unusual or extraordinary step in Kashmir during past few months. There has been no question of

1. New Delhi, 19 November 1948. J.N. Collection. Extracts.

large scale offensive on our behalf. For greater part of this period Pakistan armies have been on the offensive, have infiltrated into Ladakh valley and have encircled Poonch, placed medium and field guns so as to prevent even our aircraft going to Poonch. This necessitated defensive measures clearing route to Leh and assuring supplies to Poonch by road. Recently two minor operations undertaken—one in Ladakh valley, the other on road to Poonch. No other operations planned.

It is impossible to counter continuous succession of falsehoods from Pakistan which is suffering from jitteriness and is fed continuously by mendacious press.

I have discussed this matter with Bucher² and have also informed U.K. High Commissioner of contents of my telegrams on this subject.

2. F.R.R. Bucher was the Commander-in-Chief of the Indian Army.

10. Cable to G. S. Bajpai¹

Commission's new proposals amount to going back on previous resolution which was passed after considering all aspects of problem. It is true that the first two parts of old resolution stand. But addition itself is something, the consideration of which had been postponed till the Commission's resolution had been given effect to. That resolution was accepted by us and rejected by Pakistan. Now again we are asked to accept something more without knowing what Pakistan may or may not do. We feel that this is not fair. Our acceptance binds us and leaves Pakistan free to accept or reject. The question of our considering new proposals should only arise after Pakistan has accepted the old resolution plus new proposals.

In view of Pakistan's continuous attacks and false allegations about us, the most recent being contained in Zafrullah's letter regarding recent military developments in Kashmir, it is difficult for us to confirm Pakistan on these issues. If they want any kind of agreement with us, they must withdraw these false allegations and accept new proposals.

You were quite right in telling Lozano² that we had never undertaken

1. Undated. Reply to two cables of Bajpai of 21 November 1948. J.N. Collection.

2. Alfredo Lozano (b. 1903) was the Colombian member and at this time Chairman of the U.N. Commission for India and Pakistan.

to restrict our freedom of military action in Kashmir State. It is curious that such an allegation can be made when Pakistan is the aggressor in Indian Union territory, but in any event the allegation is false and we have, as I have informed you, sent no large reinforcements and planned no large scale offensive. In the Zoji La sector our casualties were about ten.

In view of all these circumstances we feel that we are entitled to know first whether Pakistan accepts these proposals before we commit ourselves in any way.

We agree with your criticisms of proposals and your suggestions. We are not prepared to allow roving Pakistan commissions in Kashmir. This can only lead to mischief and conflict. It is clear that if this question is to be considered anew, this cannot be done in Paris and discussion should take place in India.

11. Cable to G. S. Bajpai¹

Received Krishna Menon's telegram 2431 dated 18th. Following message from Attlee has been conveyed to me by United Kingdom High Commissioner here...²

This message has surprised me. We have had no protest yet from U.K. Government at Pakistan armies functioning in Kashmir and being continually reinforced and carrying on offensive operations. These Pakistan armies it must be remembered are controlled by British officers. We have also not had any expression of opinion of United Kingdom Government on our acceptance of Kashmir ceasefire resolution and Pakistan's rejection of it. But now Pakistan objects and that objection is apparently supported by United Kingdom Government. We have no desire to settle any question by military force, but if our territory is invaded as it has been invaded in Kashmir, it is our intention to resist to utmost of our capacity. During the past few months Pakistan Army has been continually reinforced and has organized several major offensives in various parts of Kashmir State. They threatened our position in Ladakh, in the Jhelum valley and near Poonch. We had to take measures to safeguard our position. There has been no major

1. New Delhi, 21 November 1948. File No. KS-53/48, Ministry of States, M.H.A.
 2. For Attlee's message see *ante*, item 8.

offensive and there is no question of an all-out offensive in the State. There have been no air force reinforcements sent by us. As regards the army, about 5,000 men have been sent during last two months partly for relief purposes, partly to protect Ladakh valley route and to safeguard Poonch. Only operations we have undertaken are to clear Ladakh route and open route to Poonch for sending supplies.

It will be observed that Pakistan complaint is without foundation and we have deliberately avoided major offensive. I should like to make it clear however that presence of Pakistan troops on Indian Union territory is a continuing irritation and we cannot possibly agree to their staying there. Much less can we take any risks in the matter of defending Kashmir from Pakistan aggression.

We are earnestly desirous of finding peaceful solutions of all issues between India and Pakistan but no solution can be based on surrender to aggression and invasion. In no event can we reconcile ourselves to the presence of any Pakistan forces in Kashmir State territory.

It is a matter of deep regret to my Government that these hostile forces are controlled and led by British officers who are thus participating in invasion of the territory of the Indian Dominion.

Please convey my reply to Mr. Attlee in above terms. It would be desirable for Krishna Menon or Bajpai to see Mr. Attlee. The contents of this message should be conveyed to leader of Indian delegation in Paris.

12. Cable to Vijayalakshmi Pandit¹

Received your telegram 202-D and 203-D dated 21st November about Commission's proposals for plebiscite.² Matter requires very careful consideration and we do not propose to commit ourselves till we have examined every aspect. My first reaction is not favourable to proposals.

1. New Delhi, 22 November 1948. File No. KS-53/48, Ministry of States, M.H.A. This cable was repeated to V.K. Krishna Menon.
2. These contained tentative supplementary proposals to the U.N.C.I.P. Resolution of 13 August for ceasefire and dealt with procedure for plebiscite.

Bajpai's telegram 196-D dated 20th November about Pakistan's complaint to Security Council. It is clear that all this business of complaint and threats at the present moment is trying to influence Security Council on larger issue. Any moderately intelligent soldier knows that nothing much can be done in Kashmir during winter months. We do not propose to be influenced by these threats. It has to be considered whether in view of this attitude of Pakistan we can deal with the plebiscite issue at all. They cannot have it both ways.

During my recent visit to Kashmir³ I found conditions improving. Military situation progressing satisfactorily both in Ladakh valley and on road to Poonch. Civil supplies situation also much better. Kashmir Government settling down to its work.

3. Nehru visited Kashmir on 20 November 1948.

13. Cable to G. S. Bajpai¹

I would like to emphasise again that our recent military operations in Kashmir State have been direct consequence of continuous building up by Pakistan of their positions in the Poonch area, in Uri sector and Ladakh valley. It is Pakistan that has been throwing in reinforcements and supplies during past few months and carrying out offensives against our forces.

Extent of our operations may be judged from the fact that during the whole of recent Zoji La-Ladakh operation lasting two weeks our casualties in dead amounted only to ten. Casualties in Rajaouri-Poonch area also very low.

1. New Delhi, 23 November 1948. File No. KS-53/48, Ministry of States, M.H.A. This cable was repeated to V.K. Krishna Menon.

14. Cable to G. S. Baipai¹

Your telegrams 202-D and 203-D dated 21st. We have given careful thought to Commission's general proposals for plebiscite. Before communicating to you our preliminary reactions thereto, I wish to express our disappointment and regret that, contrary to what was understood to be their deliberate decision, when they left India, Commission should now be attempting to negotiate, in advance of implementation of the ceasefire resolution and of the acceptance of the truce agreement, the terms and conditions for ascertaining the will of the people. The details of the procedure for such ascertainment cannot be settled except after discussions in India. We cannot attempt to settle some of them elsewhere merely by calling them principles. Such settlement will be unreal unless it is finalised after the ceasefire has taken effect, a truce has been signed and not only India but Pakistan also has given proof of genuine desire and determination to achieve a peaceful permanent decision. It is our considered opinion that this is not the time even for consultation which Commission were having with you and that it should be postponed to the time clearly indicated in Part III of Commission's resolution. We would ask you to press for and obtain the Commission's agreement to such postponement.

2. It must also be pointed out that while these informal talks are going on, Pakistan is continuing its bitter attacks and false allegations against us as contained in Zafrullah's two letters to Security Council regarding Kashmir operation² and Hyderabad.³ This is not the way to promote peaceful settlement and we resent this strongly.

3. If, however, the Commission should insist on continuing the present informal consultation, I give below our immediate reactions to the Commission's proposals for principles to govern plebiscite.

1. New Delhi, 23 November 1948. File No. KS-53/48, Ministry of States, M.H.A.
2. On 19 November, Zafrullah Khan charged that the Indian Army had started an all-out offensive to obtain possession of western Kashmir. He said that unless immediate steps were taken, Pakistan would have no option but to change their policy of "minimum regular force" in Kashmir and undertake a counter offensive with all forces available to prevent India from overrunning Poonch and Mirpur district. This would inevitably lead to the most bloody fighting which Pakistan had tried to avoid. He also alleged that Indian Army and Air Force had been reinforced on a massive scale.
3. Zafrullah Khan called upon the U.N. to renew the debate on Hyderabad as the situation had gone worse and urgent action by the Security Council was needed.

4. The new proposals bring Pakistan very much into picture in regard to arrangements for plebiscite. We opposed this manoeuvre in Security Council and there is no reference to Pakistan in its resolution dated 21st April under B-Plebiscite except in one minor matter. In writing to Chairman of Commission on the 13th August resolution, I said

"Finally you agreed that Part III, as formulated, does not in any way recognise the right of Pakistan to have any part in a plebiscite."⁴

The Chairman accepted this interpretation as correct.

5. The intrusion of Pakistan into various clauses of Part B of present proposal's is therefore in direct contravention of what Security Council and Commission have throughout accepted. It is impossible for us to accept this position.

6. B.3—We cannot agree to Pakistan being given the right to be consulted.⁵ We are agreeable to para 10(a) of the 21st April resolution with additional words if necessary indicating that the Plebiscite Administrator should be a person of high standing inspiring general confidence.

B.4—Pakistan should be omitted from this as already pressed by you.⁶ Plebiscite Administrator should be linked with the Government of Jammu and Kashmir and should formally derive his authority and powers from them. This is provided for in the Security Council resolution.

B.6—Your criticism of this para is endorsed. Indeed, we do not see why the Plebiscite Administrator need have anything to do with representation. In any case we are strongly opposed to any joint commission.⁷

B.7—Plebiscite Administrator will not have any authority to discharge the duty imposed on him in this para.⁸ The Commission's April resolution cast this obligation on the Government of India, the obviously correct thing to do.

B.9—Reference to Pakistan should be omitted. It should be sufficient

4. For full text of Nehru's letter to Josef Korbel, see *Selected Works* (Second Series) Vol. 7, pp. 301-304.
5. B.3 of the draft resolution read: "The Secretary General of the U.N. will in consultation with Commission nominate a Plebiscite Administrator who shall be acceptable to Governments of India and Pakistan...."
6. B.4 read: "The terms of service of Plebiscite Administrator and his official organisation will be agreed upon by Governments of India and Pakistan and Secretary General."
7. B.6 read: "All citizens of State who have left it on account of disturbances will be invited and be free to return and to exercise all their rights as such citizens. For purposes affecting repatriation there shall be appointed a commission composed of officers of India and Pakistan...."
8. B.7 read: "No restrictions shall be imposed on legitimate political activity. There shall be no victimisation. All political prisoners in State shall be released. It shall be duty of Plebiscite Administrator to see that these conditions are fulfilled."

for the Commission to report to the Security Council both on the result and on the fairness of the plebiscite.⁹

B.10—Reference to Pakistan should be omitted.¹⁰

B.11—This reverses the order of priority in the 13th August resolution.¹¹
If any such para should be retained, it should be worded as follows:—

“Only after Part one and Part two of Commission’s resolution of August 13th have been complied with by both parties, will India stand committed to the foregoing proposals.”

7. Our obligations in respect of ensuring fairness of plebiscite are to the Security Council and not to Pakistan. We cannot agree to any concessions in this respect especially in view of the recent propaganda offensive against India, based upon falsehood and distortions of facts which Pakistan has been carrying on.

9. B.9 read: “At conclusion of plebiscite, Plebiscite Administrator will report the result thereof to Governments of India and Pakistan....”
10. B.10 read: “The details of foregoing proposals will be elaborated and rights and duties of Plebiscite Administrator will be defined in consultation between two Governments, the Commission and Plebiscite Administrator”
11. B.11 read: “Part one and two of Commission’s resolution of August 13th 1948 will be complied with by both the parties upon acceptance of foregoing proposals.”

15. Cable to G. S. Bajpai¹

...We have already sent you full message about our reactions to plebiscite proposals.² We think that further talks can only be usefully carried on in India. We would like you to return soon as your presence here necessary. It is for you to decide when to return here. But if you think additional short stay in Paris necessary you can remain there.

Long extracts from Kashmir Commission’s report published in newspapers here today.

1. New Delhi, 24 November 1948. File No. KS-53/48, Ministry of States, M.H.A. Extracts.
2. See the preceding item.

16. Cable to G. S. Bajpai¹

Your telegram 209-D dated 23rd November.

1. We deny completely Pakistan Government's allegation that we have violated any undertaking. We gave no undertaking and in fact we have not taken any major steps in Kashmir during last few months.

2. Pakistan on the other hand have continuously sent reinforcements and supplies and carried out large scale offensive operations against us. Hence it is untrue to say that Pakistan have scrupulously observed any undertaking.

3. I have already informed you that reinforcements sent by us in recent months amount in all to about five thousand men partly for relief and partly to meet fresh attacks by Pakistan Army supported by big guns. Pakistan's figures for our reinforcements incorrect. What has happened is fresh dispositions of old troops and certain brigade headquarters established not brigades. There has been no reinforcements whatever of Air Force.

4. Zoji La operation carried through easily with very few casualties simply because our engineers built jeep road across high mountains. Rajauri/Poonch action also on small scale. Both these actions have succeeded with minimum casualties and Kargil in Ladakh valley occupied. Mendhar also occupied and road to Poonch cleared up for sending supplies. There is no question of our extending these operations and indeed weather does not permit it.

5. While we are perfectly justified in face of Pakistan's invasion and continuous attacks to use military means to clear Kashmir, in fact we have been acting on defensive during past months and there has been no question of presenting some major *fait accompli*.

For your private information we might tell you that we are withdrawing part of our Air Force from Kashmir simply because there is no present use for it there. Also we are consolidating our positions in Ladakh valley and Rajauri/Poonch road to protect trade and supply route. No intention and no possibility of offensive action towards Mirpur or in any other region.

Pakistan's complaint apparently due to desire to influence Commission on eve of presentation of report. Also perhaps due to progressive deterioration of Pakistan Army's morale and political conditions in Pakistan. Information reaches us that they are preparing for further military intervention in Kashmir possibly even by air and this complaint preparing ground for it.

1. New Delhi, 24 November 1948. File No. KS-53/48, Ministry of States, M.H.A.

We are not worried by this. But if there is any air action by Pakistan, this will necessarily result in broadening area of conflict and serious consequences. On our part this will not be done unless obvious and serious provocation.

From military point of view no major changes can take place during next four months and Pakistan must know this but Pakistan's internal conditions are leading them to these fantastic outbursts.

We are anxious as ever to have peaceful settlement and to cooperate with Commission to that end. It is difficult to keep pace with Pakistan's falsehoods and exaggerations which have no basis in fact.

17. Cable to G. S. Bajpai¹

Your telegram 214-D dated 24th November.

Generally agree with line you propose to adopt in answer to Pakistan's complaint. Have already sent you full particulars about military situation. Our present objectives have been to relieve Poonch and Leh for caravan route and supplies. We were forced to take this action by continued aggression by Pakistan in Ladakh valley and near Poonch. No other military objectives at present or during winter. Further action would naturally depend on what Pakistan does.

Suggest your dealing with this issue in Security Council.²

About Hyderabad we have no objection to any person going there, but any kind of enquiry by formal representative of United Nations would lead to complications and will therefore be undesirable.

1. New Delhi, 25 November 1948. File No. KS-53/48, Ministry of States, M.H.A.
2. The Security Council resumed its debate on Kashmir on 25 November and unanimously appealed to India and Pakistan to stop fighting in Kashmir and to do nothing to aggravate or endanger the negotiations.

18. Cable to G. S. Bajpai¹

Reference your telegrams Nos. 227-D, 228-D and 232.

2. We have no objection to U.N. appointing military adviser to Commission to be sent to India.²

3. It is clear as you have pointed out that Zafrullah's tactics are to delay and to draw us into commitments without committing himself in any way.³ Commission apparently playing into his hands and bringing pressure on us to accept something or else threat of immediate ceasefire.⁴ As you pointed out this could be unfair and astonishing development after their own report. Such action by Security Council would be wholly irresponsible and would play into hands of party which refused to accept their own Commission's resolution. We cannot allow ourselves to be party to this procedure or be hustled.

4. We think Frankfurter⁵ is a good man and have no objection to him but we consider it entirely premature for us to engage in any talks regarding selection of Plebiscite Administrator and we would advise you to decline being drawn into discussion of possible names.⁶

5. We are committed to future of Kashmir being decided in accordance with wishes of its people. In interim report Commission have given clear evidence of the appreciation of difficulties connected with taking of plebiscite and has indicated its desire "to leave the possibility open for consideration of alternative solutions mutually agreeable to both parties with proviso of the

1. New Delhi, 29 November 1948. J.N. Collection.
2. Early in December 1948, the U.N. Secretary General appointed General Maurice Delvoi of Belgium as the military adviser to U.N.C.I.P.
3. Zafrullah Khan had addressed the Commission for four hours on 28 November 'going over old ground' without giving his Government's reactions to the plebiscite proposals.
4. Bajpai had reported that in course of informal talks on 28 November, an assistant of Lozano had said the Security Council might in view of Pakistan's complaint of India's military activities, wish to order immediate ceasefire.
5. Felix Frankfurter (1882-1965); Professor, Harvard Law School, 1914-39; Associate Justice of U.S. Supreme Court, 1939-62.
6. On the night of 26 November Josef Korbel met Bajpai to discuss selection of a plebiscite administrator and wanted India to consider Eisenhower of U.S.A. or Mackenzie King or General Mcnaughton of Canada. Bajpai preferred Judge Frankfurter of U.S. It was only in March 1949 that Admiral Chester W. Nimitz of U.S.A. was selected as the Plebiscite Administrator.

will of the people should be assured." This possibility has not yet been explored. Any general decision about plebiscite at this stage practically rules out other methods of settling dispute or determining wishes of people of Kashmir State. We do not wish to fight shy of plebiscite provided it is conducted under suitable conditions. But it will be unfortunate to come to decision now which would exclude other methods which might be more feasible. Election of Constituent Assembly under conditions of voting as plebiscite might be the best method of considering complicated problem.

6. Real difficulties are going to arise in connection with return of large numbers of people who have gone out of Kashmir. Regulation and checking would not be easy and sudden return of large unregulated number would only mean outsiders coming in but would also create grave economic problem for the State. This process therefore has to be fully checked and relatively slow.

7. As you have stated principle and detail cannot be separated.⁷ Hence it is difficult to enter into any vague commitments in Paris at this stage. Indeed further exploration and consideration of detail as indicated in Part III of Commission's resolution of August 13th can hardly take place until Parts I and II of that resolution have been implemented. We generally agree with your arguments placed before Lozano. We are dealing more fully with some details of Commission's proposals in subsequent telegram.

8. We agree that you should return to India as soon as possible. Setalvad⁸ can be asked to deal with subsequent developments. As regards postponement of Jammu-Kashmir case we cannot approach courts but Setalvad can directly ask for brief postponement on grounds of his important work in Paris. We shall advise our lawyer to agree to any such proposal.

9. Further telegram will follow this evening.

7. Bajpai informed Nehru on 27 November 1948 that he had told Lozano that: 'Principle and detail could not, in the field of plebiscite, be treated entirely separately. Both have important political and practical implications which could expeditiously and conveniently be discussed in India.'

8. M.C. Setalvad.

19. Cable to G. S. Bajpai¹

Reference your telegram 227-D, 228-D, and 232-D and in continuation of our last telegram.²

2. As regards details of Commission's proposals for plebiscite, we note Lozano agreed to accept our views in respect of paras B-3, B-4, B-6, and B-11. The substance of what he wishes to secure in respect of B-3 is already there in what we have agreed to.

3. B-7. Administrative arrangements during interim period in territory now under the control of Azad Kashmir will necessarily be somewhat nebulous, but it was agreed that sovereignty of Kashmir State over that area should continue. Plebiscite Administrator will have powers formally derived from Jammu and Kashmir Government only as regards organisation and conduct of plebiscite. Unless he is given authority by Kashmir Government to supervise and ensure maintenance of law and order in that area, he cannot act in this field of administrative activity; nor can Commission do so without being formally invested with such jurisdiction by Kashmir Government. This question raises difficulties which we consider could not be solved except after fighting has ceased, local conditions have been properly surveyed and most suitable arrangements for maintenance of law and order investigated. Government of India will get Government of Jammu and Kashmir to accept any arrangements that are finally decided upon after such investigation. They will be responsible further in ensuring that the matters mentioned in B-7 are complied with by the Kashmir Government in respect of the rest of the area of the State.

4. B-9. Proper course for Plebiscite Administrator is to submit his report on result of plebiscite to Government from which his authority is formally derived. Report may also be submitted simultaneously to the Commission for being sent to Security Council. It is open to the Commission or the Council to send a copy of the report later to the Pakistan Government.

5. We are glad that you have repeatedly stressed in your talks with Lozano the informality of the present consultations with you, as also that our reactions to the proposals are by no means final. Unless parts I and II of the

1. New Delhi, 29 November 1948. File No. KS- 53/48, Ministry of States, M.H.A. Also available in J.N. Collection.

2. See the preceding item.

13th August resolution are first implemented in full, we shall not stand committed to any of our views which in your informal consultations you have communicated to Lozano.

6. In today's *Statesman* prominence is given to report from its Karachi correspondent of reported Inter-Dominion talks on Kashmir,³ reference to division of State and also to some fantastic proposals made on behalf of Pakistan. This report evidently emanating from Pakistan, is wrong and mischievous and we have contradicted it as being completely incorrect.

3. The report said that the Government of India had initiated the Inter-Dominion talks with Pakistan for the partition of Kashmir.

20. To S. M. Abdullah¹

New Delhi
November 29, 1948

My dear Sheikh Saheb,

I have just received your letter of the 28th November.²

I entirely agree with you in what you say in your letter about the plebiscite and also about the difficulty of providing for the displaced persons. As a matter of fact we have pointed out all these arguments to the Commission in Paris. I would have sent you all the telegrams we have sent with this letter, but I have not got the copies with me at present.

While we have emphasized all these and many other points and practically refused to discuss any details of the plebiscite at this stage, it is not easy in the circumstances just to say no to the Commission so far as the plebiscite is concerned. We have to remember that an adverse decision of the Commission may prove harmful to us. So we tried to avoid this while

1. J.N. Collection.
2. Sheikh Abdullah felt that revival of the plebiscite proposals was a further attempt to appease Pakistan and would apart from the serious difficulties of implementation encourage disruptive forces in Kashmir. For example if it was agreed that people who had gone out, should return to exercise their franchise, Pakistan would send as large a contingent as possible. There was no means of verifying whether all such people belonged to Kashmir or not. An on-the-spot inquiry would be a long drawn out affair and might not be possible in some areas in view of large-scale displacements of people whose rehabilitation would throw up fresh problems regarding housing, food and transport.

at the same time maintaining a stiff attitude. We have asked Bajpai to come back soon and I expect him to be here by the end of this week.

I sent you a telegram today about *The Statesman's* report. I understand that some other vague reports are also likely to appear in the press. I have issued a contradiction³ and I have also informed Bajpai and Krishna Menon that they must not be misled by these propaganda offensive. I told you of the vague talks I had with Liaquat Ali in London and Paris. There have been no negotiations here of any kind and so far as I can see, there will be none.

This is a brief letter. I am arranging to send you separately some of the copies of telegrams which have passed between me and Bajpai. These will keep you informed.

We have received a copy of the Kashmir Commission's preliminary report. This is not bad so far as it goes.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

3. The Ministry of External Affairs officially denied the report in *The Statesman* from its Karachi correspondent about reported talks on Kashmir.

21. Cable to G. S. Bajpai¹

Understand that London *Times*, has stated that partition of Kashmir is being discussed.² Also Paris message in newspapers here that negotiations being carried on through mediation of British representatives presumably in Paris to carry out the partition.

I am unaware of any such negotiations. Nothing of this kind has taken place here. You will remember that some vague talks took place in London about rectification of frontier areas as part of immediate settlement. But no progress was made and this was dropped. We are not prepared to reopen this question on our side and commit ourselves in any way in view of Pakistan's general attitude. That attitude must change before any matter can be considered.

1. New Delhi, 30 November 1948. V.K. Krishna Menon Papers, N.M.M.L. This cable was repeated to V.K. Krishna Menon.
2. In his cable of 1 December 1948 Krishna Menon informed Nehru that he could find no such report in *The Times*. However a detailed report appeared in the *News Chronicle* of 29 November date lined 28 November from Karachi, from Edwin Brook under the headline: 'Kashmir India Makes Partition Offer.' "This report and other rumours of its kind" said Krishna Menon, "were entirely unfounded and that nothing beyond the talk that took place in London had occurred. . ."

22. Cable to G. S. Bajpai¹

Your telegram 236-D dated 29th November.

Your draft reply generally approved. You might state also in course of your reply that presence of large Pakistan forces in Indian Union territory, as found by Commission, and their being added to, is continuing aggression on the part of Pakistan. There have been repeated major attacks by Pakistan armies which we have had to meet more especially when they were intended to cut off our supply lines to Leh and Poonch. Presence of Pakistan troops infiltrating in Ladakh valley far away from Pakistan is clearest evidence of continuing aggression which has no relation to Pakistan.

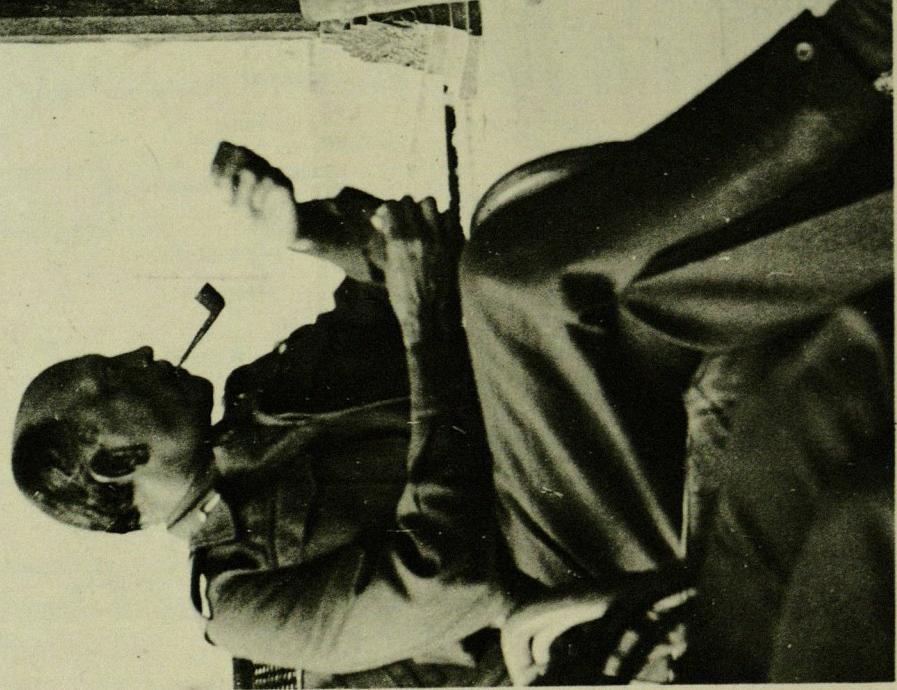
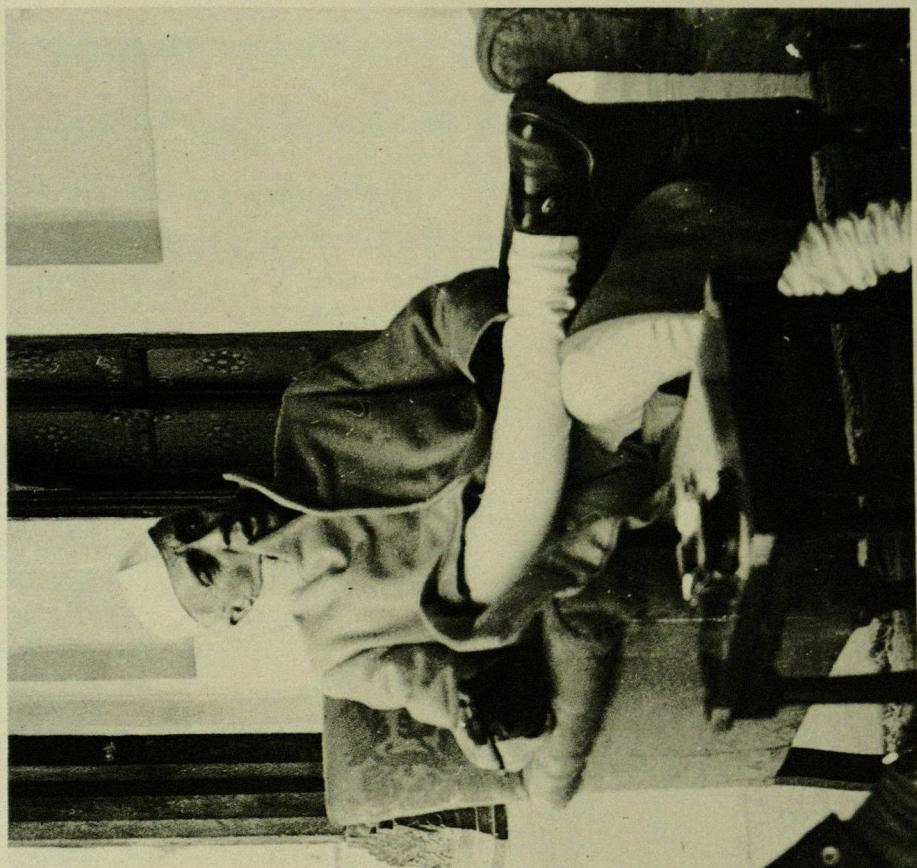
You can incorporate above in suitable language in your draft reply.

There has recently been an Inter-Dominion Defence Secretaries and officers Conference at Karachi.² Commanders-in-Chief attended. It may interest you to know that informally Pakistan military circles agreed that recent operations of Indian Army towards Leh and Poonch were regarded in military circles as being almost inescapable to India.

For your personal information I might mention that only probable operation on minor scale intended is to capture Marol near Kargil in order to protect our Ladakh position. No other operations intended unless Pakistan takes initiative anywhere. Generally we are consolidating our position and protecting our lines of communication and supply.

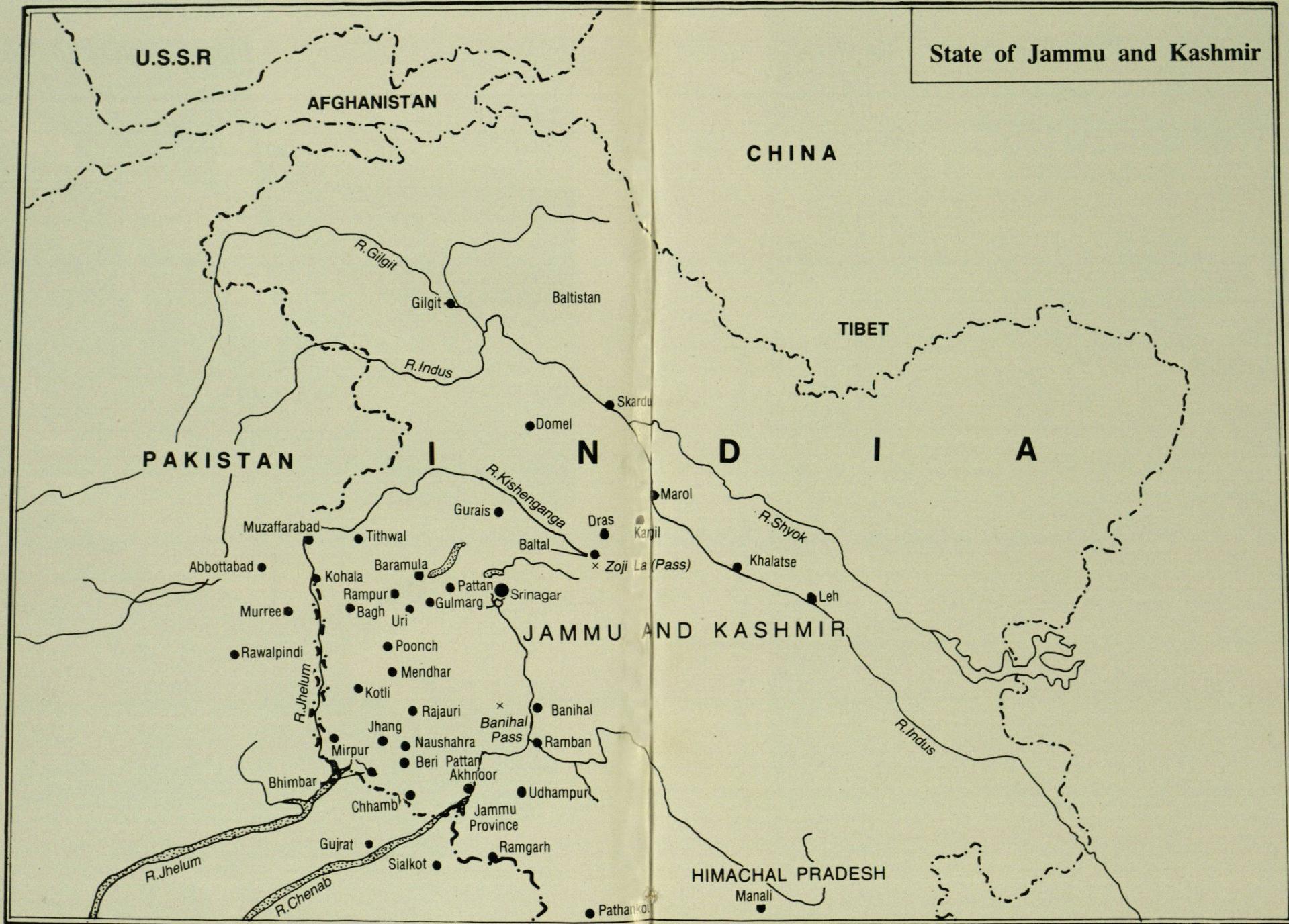
1. New Delhi, 30 November 1948. File No. KS-53/48, Ministry of States, M.H.A.

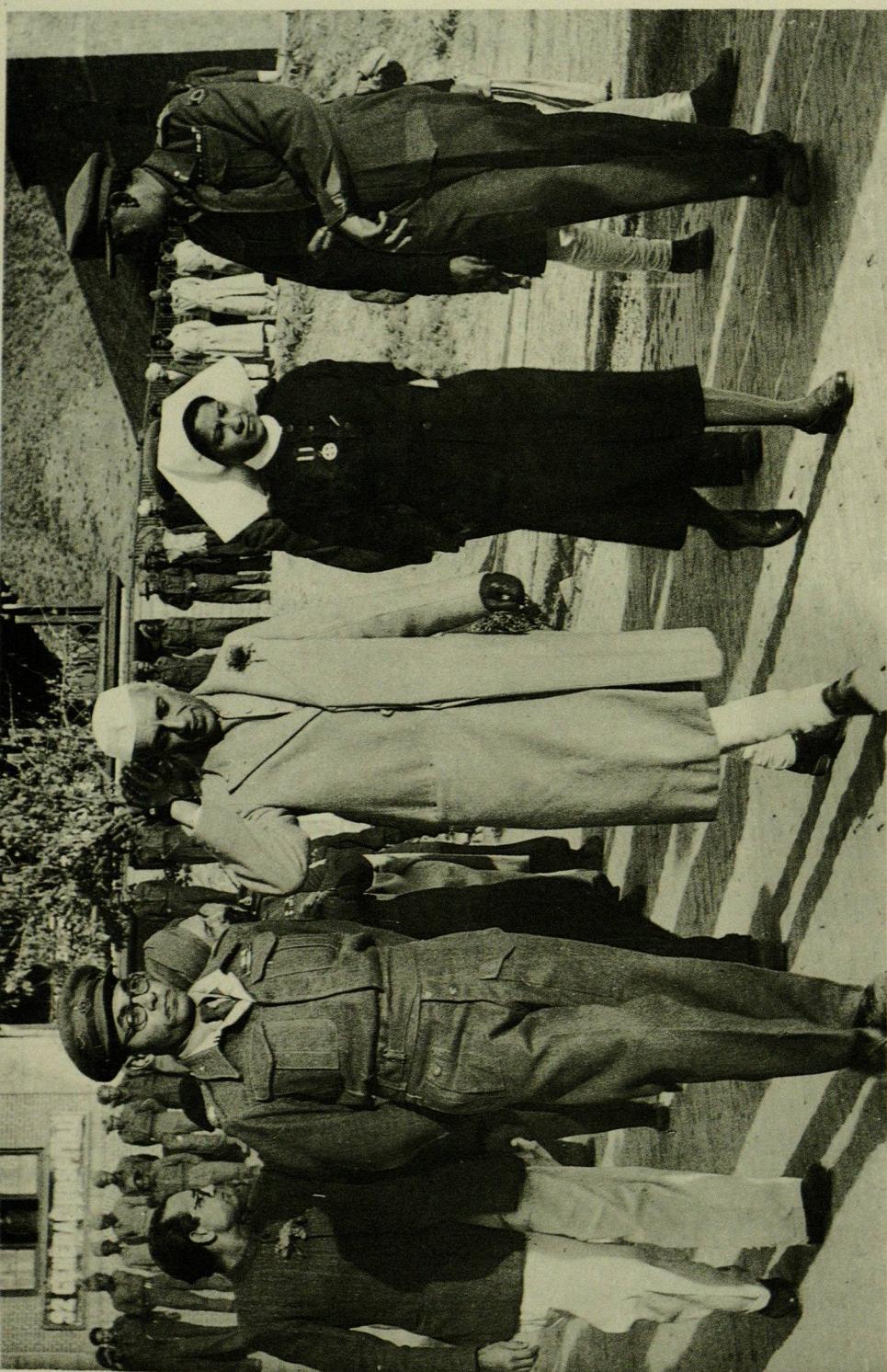
2. Held on 26 and 27 November 1948 at Karachi.



WITH K.M. CARIAPPA, SRINAGAR, 20 NOVEMBER 1948

State of Jammu and Kashmir





LEAVING THE COMBINED MILITARY HOSPITAL, SRINAGAR, 20 NOVEMBER 1948

23. To Devadas Gandhi¹

New Delhi
December 1, 1948

My dear Devadas,

I have seen a report in today's *Hindustan Times* on Kashmir.² I do not know who your special representative is, but I must say that he has done no service to India by this report. He has incidentally been somewhat discourteous to me rather indirectly.³ I have no objection to any criticism of Government policy which every newspaper has a right to indulge in. But this oblique method of dealing with issues and casting some kind of aspersion on policy and more particularly criticizing the public servant seems to me not very fair. Bajpai is not functioning off his own bat, but under direct instructions from us. If there is any fault it is in us, not in any representative of ours.

The position is a difficult and complicated one and my colleagues and I are continually giving anxious thought to it and sending instructions from day to day.

The present set up, it must be remembered, is entirely different from the old set up. Civil servants are only mouthpieces of the Government and Ministers. Therefore, in this set up, it is the Government that must be criticised and not a mouthpiece. A civil servant cannot reply and he is placed in a very unfair and invidious position by attacks on him in the public press.

May I also suggest that any criticism should be direct and straightforward and not oblique?

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. J.N. Papers, N.M.M.L.

2. The report said that on 30 November 1948, many members discussed Kashmir in the lobbies of the Constituent Assembly and viewed with disfavour Bajpai's activities in Paris. Bajpai had given the impression that he was discussing the "future of Kashmir as if it were a dispute between India and Pakistan." The report alleged that the difficulties which India was facing over the issue of Indian nationals in Burma and Sri Lanka were due to Bajpai's mishandling of negotiations which the previous government had with these countries.
3. This special representative who was critical of G.S. Bajpai's handling of the Kashmir issue, said that Nehru once called him 'a tower of strength' in dealing with the Kashmir problem at the early stages of its references to the U.N.

SELECTED WORKS OF JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

24. Cable to V. K. Krishna Menon¹

...Regarding para 7 of your telegram 2689 of 26th November, you need not make any special demand again about British officers.² But when occasion offers you may mention continuous irritation caused by high ranking British officers, civil and military, in Pakistan being responsible for policies completely hostile to India. I have little doubt that our difficulties with Pakistan would have been nearer solution but for presence of Mudies, Graceys and the like.

1. New Delhi, 1 December 1948. J.N. Collection. Extract.

2. Krishna Menon had asked "how far" did Nehru want him "to press the point about British officers."

25. Cable to G. S. Bajpai¹

I have been rather worried by fact that during discussions on Kashmir in Security Council the guilty party, Pakistan, has assumed air of victim of aggression. After Commission's report was placed before Security Council important fact emerged of Pakistan's armies being there. This denied previously by Pakistan. If Commission considering Kashmir issue in any way afresh they must take this fact into consideration as well as our claim that Kashmir is Indian Union territory. They ignored this previously, but now with Commission's report they can no longer do so and we can well demand that no further decision can be taken unless this matter is decided upon as it is basic to every issue in Kashmir whether this issue concerns plebiscite or charge of our carrying out offensive operations. If our contention is correct then it necessarily follows that Pakistan is guilty party committing aggression. We have never been outside our territory.

2. I leave it to you to emphasize this fact when opportunity arises. Zafrullah's charges of insinuations and falsehoods must not be allowed to confuse issue.

1. New Delhi, 1 December 1948. File No. KS-53/48, Ministry of States, M.H.A. Extracts.

3. . . I have already pointed out great difficulty of settling people who come back in large numbers and possibility of outsiders coming in. Also type of highly objectionable propaganda which Pakistan and Azad Kashmir are carrying on if permitted in Kashmir itself will necessarily produce bloody riots and no Government can tolerate it.

4. Thus, intervening period might well be of grave difficulty and uncertainty unless authority of Kashmir Government is supreme to deal with any situation that arises and no Pakistani intervention in any form is permitted.

26. Cable to G. S. Bajpai¹

Your telegram Nos. 249-D² and 255-D dated December 3rd received. Matter requires very careful consideration. Some of those I wish to consult out of Delhi. Hope to send you full reply on Tuesday.

2. Would like you to return as early as possible. You may convey our full reply to Commission and then return immediately. I have been terribly overworked not only because of various difficult problems but also Constituent Assembly and coming Congress session.

3. Meanwhile I am conveying to you my reaction for the present to all this business of Commission's talks and proposals. I am dissatisfied and disturbed at the way Commission and Security Council function and I dislike intensely being pushed about from position to position and asked to commit myself without anything being done by Pakistan. I am disgusted by the way representatives of Pakistan go on behaving in Paris and in India and yet both Commission and Security Council accept all this and even call us to the bar to answer charges and make vague commitments. Nothing is said about Pakistan's invasion or their subsequent behaviour in spite of findings of Commission. Throughout the period Commission was here and subsequently Pakistan has been carrying on aggression in Kashmir State pouring in men

1. New Delhi, 5 December 1948. V.K. Krishna Menon Papers, N.M.M.L. This cable was repeated to V.K. Krishna Menon.
2. In this cable Bajpai enclosed the Commission's proposals of 3 December regarding a plebiscite and conveyed Josef Korbel's request that Nehru consider them sympathetically.

and supplies, infiltrating into new areas and going on far into Ladakh. We have no complaint because we are too decent to go on doing so all the time. When we met this aggression and stratagem of Pakistan's plans, then there is shouting and cursing and we are asked to explain why we did it. It seems to be forgotten that we are defending our people and our country against brutal and unscrupulous invaders. Zafrullah Khan now threatens aggressive action. It must be made clear that if any such step is taken we shall meet it with all our strength. In view of these threats, any talk with Commission about plebiscite is completely unreal.

4. Pakistan has been carrying on her vicious and indecent campaign against us and Kashmir Government. It is difficult for us to deal with people who behave in this way, while in private they try to be reasonable. We are not going to allow this kind of indecency in Kashmir.

5. Except for border areas and some sparsely populated mountain tracks, Kashmir is being governed by legal and constitutional government. Peaceful conditions prevail. Agrarian reforms being given effect to and development scheme undertaken. We are unable to understand or accept any suggestion of parity in treatment of Kashmir Government with Azad Kashmir or Pakistan. Indeed we do not propose to allow Pakistan to intervene in any way in Kashmir. We cannot barter away people of Kashmir who have trusted us and to whom we have pledged our honour, nor can we ignore Jammu and Kashmir Government which must have the final say in any matter affecting Kashmir.

6. It is bad enough for attempts to be made to settle intricate problems in Paris and by telegram. It is worse where we have hardly the chance to consult Kashmir Government.

7. It must be remembered that we have to keep in view dangerous aspects of every problem. In view of developments in China,³ Ladakh assumes special importance. Chaotic conditions in Ladakh and north-east regions as were being produced by Pakistan are likely to lead to dangerous consequences. We cannot permit such developments.

8. We have made it clear right from the beginning that we cannot commit ourselves to any proposals without fullest discussion in India and we suggested that Commission might come here for the purpose. We are now presented with the progressively detailed scheme with all kinds of vague

3. The armies under Mao Zedong were increasingly successful and were only 25 miles away from Nanking, the capital, where in fact no civil government was functioning as Sun Fo, nominated Prime Minister, was unable to form a cabinet. Both Nanking and Shanghai were in the grip of a panic which had sent up prices sharply high and provoked a mass exodus of people to the south.

commitments which we must accept by telegram or else we are threatened with some unfavourable development. No responsible Government can tolerate such treatment at any time and more specially when it is the injured party which has suffered invasion and aggression.

9. In considering this matter and *bona fides* of Pakistan's attitude other matters have also to be kept in view. Pakistan's repeated attempts to bring Hyderabad before Security Council demonstrates its utter lack of *bona fides* and its venom and enmity against India. Evidence is forthcoming of their part secret intrigues with Hyderabad and their acceptance of large sums of money.

10. I shall let you have my detailed answer to proposals later. But I must make it clear that we are unable to agree to any step being taken regarding proposed plebiscite such as appointment of Plebiscite Administrator before Parts I and II of Commission's resolution have been fully implemented. Nor can we agree to ceasefire unless every Pakistan soldier and tribesman withdraws. We are not going to trust Pakistan's word for anything and we are not going to commit ourselves to anything till Pakistan shows by its action that it is carrying out Commission's resolution.

11. I should like to emphasise as stated in our letter to Commission, at time of acceptance of their resolution, the whole of Ladakh and adjacent territory must be completely controlled by us after truce. By no conceivable stretch of imagination has Pakistan got anything to do with these regions and yet they revert there after Commission came here. We must also protect our supply routes and strategic points governing them. These are matters which can only be discussed here.

12. Your telegram No. 256-D dated December 4th.⁴ I am confirmed in my attitude expressed above and we are not going to submit to any threats from whatever quarter when we are convinced that we have been right and are acting correctly.

13. You may communicate such parts of above message as you may consider necessary to Korbel, Rumbold⁵ and others.

4. Bajpai reported that the *Times* had on 3 December 1948, proposed that "Kashmir be given a breathing spell in which authority of U.N. would be used to preserve peace and enable country to recover from devastation". It corroborated Zafrullah Khan's charge of renewed offensive by India and suggested that Pakistan has had greater provocation and had more justice on its side than India. Horace Rumbold, official in the Commonwealth Relations Office asked Bajpai to see him, expressed great concern over fighting in Kashmir and strongly advocated Pakistan's case.
5. Horace Algernon Fraser Rumbold (b. 1906); official of the Commonwealth Relations Office.

27. Cable to G. S. Bajpai¹

I would repeat to you that there is no intention whatever on our part to carry out offensive operations in Kashmir unless Pakistan forces us to do so by some aggressive action. Information reaching us indicates that Pakistan building up forces in parts of Janmu province near borders. For what purpose I cannot say.

When we captured Mendhar² very large part of its population fled. It has been part of Pakistan's tactics to frighten population and when themselves retreating practically to drive them away. These people often return later to their homes. It may interest you to know that during last few days about 20,000 persons have thus returned to Mendhar and more are coming back to their old homes.

1. New Delhi, 6 December 1948. File No. KS-53/48, Ministry of States, M.H.A. Also available in J.N. Collection.
2. On 23 November 1948.

28. To Devadas Gandhi¹

New Delhi
December 9, 1948

My dear Devadas,

As we have been corresponding about Bajpai's activities before the Security Council, I give below an extract from a secret report received from the Leader² of our Delegation to the United Nations:

"You have already received the telegram we sent you regarding the proceedings in the Security Council. I must say that with the exception of the U.K., which was quite openly on the side of Pakistan, the other members showed commendable restraint and balance and behaved very fairly. In fact Columbia and Argentina both manoeuvred a position of advantage for us. I don't need to give details as you have received them

1. J.N. Collection.
2. Vijayalakshmi Pandit.

already. But I would like to pay a tribute of admiration for the skill with which Bajpai conducted our case. From the very beginning he was complete master of the occasion. He used the right words and the right emphasis and this, with his accustomed dignity, went a long way to making a favourable impression. In fact the Council was taken aback, as they had not expected so much eloquence and ability. Zafrullah spoke as usual in his longwinded fashion and failed to make the impression which he expected. Unfortunately impressions one way or the other are not going to help us. But I would like you to know that Bajpai's appearance has raised the whole tone of the Kahsmir debate to a very high level from which, I think, it will not be easily possible to pull it down."

I would like to add that this is not meant for publication, nor should any reference be made, but the facts contained in it may, if you so choose, be referred to indirectly.

You will notice the reference in it to the U.K. We are taking up this matter separately with the U.K. Government and I should not like any great stress being laid upon it now as that might not help us at this stage.

Yours affectionately,
Jawaharlal Nehru

29. To Archibald Nye¹

New Delhi
December 9, 1948

My dear Archie,

I have been greatly distressed by the attitude taken up by the representative² of the U.K. in the U.N. Security Council. I know that Mr. Attlee's attitude has been a fair one and I do not think the British Government as a whole is unfriendly to us in this or any other matter. Nevertheless repeatedly the U.K. representatives in the Security Council have behaved in a manner which has appeared to be very extraordinary and not at all impartial. This was so at Lake Success. We brought these facts to the notice of Mr. Attlee, Sir Stafford Cripps and others in London and we were assured then that the necessary instructions would be sent to them.

1. J.N. Collection. Extracts.

2. Sir Alexander Cadogan (1884-1968); Permanent Representative of the U.K. in U.N., 1946-50. His deputy was Terence Shone.

SELECTED WORKS OF JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

In spite of that fact, there has not been any noticeable change in the attitude of the British representatives. Both in regard to Kashmir and Hyderabad, they have often taken the initiative in supporting an attitude against India. For your information, I am giving below an extract from a secret report received by us from the Leader of our Delegation to the United Nations. . .³

I am writing to you about this specially because, as you must know, this kind of thing produces a most unfortunate impression among our people just at this moment when we are considering the future of India and the Commonwealth. I regret specially this turn given to people's minds.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

3. See the preceding item.

30. Cable to G. S. Bajpai¹

Your telegram No. 8 dated 11th December.² Zafrullah Khan's statement about Indian forces in west Kashmir making preparations for further offensive completely without foundation. We have no such intention and no such preparations have been made. Our own information is that Pakistan is steadily building up its strength in west Kashmir and other parts of Jammu area with a view to all out attack. Their forces are pressing on Indian forces and we have naturally to resist this continual pressure.

2. I shall have fresh appraisal of situation made and sent later to Charge-d' Affaires.

1. New Delhi, 12 December 1948. File No. KS-53/48, Ministry of States, M.H.A.
2. In this cable Bajpai said that Zafrullah Khan had, on 10 December, communicated to the Commission, a cable from Pakistan Premier, alleging that the Indian forces in west Kashmir were preparing for a further offensive in near future while the Pakistan forces were scrupulously maintaining a defensive attitude.

31. Cable to G. S. Bajpai¹

Kashmir. Latest information is that Pakistan forces in Poonch area have succeeded in emplacing heavy long-range artillery on difficult heights by dismantling guns and carrying them up cliffs. Intention to blow up Poonch fort and bombard town. Pakistan tanks in considerable number are kept ready for emergency between Gujrat and Jhelum. All this indicates preparations for offensive action by Pakistan on big scale. Their continuous complaint against us apparently intended to cover up what they propose to do and provide excuse for it.

1. New Delhi, 13 December 1948. File No. KS-53/48, Ministry of States, M.H.A.

32. To S. M. Abdullah¹

New Delhi
December 13, 1948

My dear Sheikh Saheb,

I wrote to you some days ago about the Kashmir Commission's proposals.² Copies of some telegrams were also sent to you. Some further copies are being sent. I am afraid it will be a little difficult for you to follow the arguments from these telegrams. It has not been an easy matter even for us. However, this will give you some idea of what has been taking place.

Today we received a telegram giving the latest revised proposals of the Commission. It is not quite easy to follow these as they have come in bits. But as far as we can make out, these revised proposals stand in the form given in the attached paper.

You wrote to me sometime back and gave me your general reactions to this business. I entirely agreed with those reactions and in fact we have been pressing them on the Commission through Bajpai. But the position has not been an easy one, although, curiously enough, the Commission as

1. J.N. Collection. Extracts.

2. See *ante*, item 20.

a whole has not been unfriendly and even the Security Council was not hostile. El Khouri, the Syrian, was rather hostile and the British representative, Cadogan, was also unfriendly. But oddly enough the Argentine man and others were more friendly than expected. From all accounts Bajpai functioned very well indeed and put our case with great brilliance. He produced a marked effect on the Council and Zafrullah Khan's stock fell.

Our chief difficulty has been the fact that the Security Council and the Commission view the question from the political plane and not on the merits. They are very anxious to show some results.

We have laid stress right from the beginning on two or three factors:

(1) That we cannot possibly commit ourselves finally to any proposal by long distance telegraph. If the Commission want to discuss anything with us, they should do so in Delhi.

(2) No question of our considering a plebiscite arises till Parts I and II of the Commission's Resolution of August last have been carried out.

Having said this and emphasized it, we discussed the actual proposals they made, because it was difficult just to say no to an informal discussion. We suggested a number of changes and objected to some clauses. Some of our suggestions were accepted, some were not in this final revised proposals. Unless you go through the whole detail correspondence you will not be able to find out all the intermediate stages. A brief note, however, about some of our objections which were agreed and some which were not, is attached herewith.

The position now is that these proposals have been made in a more or less final form and have been communicated to us and to Pakistan. The next step is for a Member of the Commission, Lozano, to come to India to discuss these with us.³ I am not sure when he will come. I believe he intends coming rather soon. But I have sent word that I shall be busy outside Delhi for the greater part of December and early January. I suggested that he should come after the 5th January. I shall immediately let you know when he is due to arrive here. Your presence here then will be essential. Preferably Bakshi's⁴ also.

3. After informal discussions between the Commission and the representatives of India and Pakistan in November at Paris with respect to the conditions and basic principles of the proposed plebiscite the Commission formulated proposals which were communicated to Governments of India and Pakistan on 11 December. On the basis of understandings reached in subsequent talks at New Delhi and Karachi, the two Governments accepted the Commission's proposals on 23 and 25 December respectively. A resolution embodying the proposals was adopted by the Commission on 5 January 1949.

4. Bakshi Ghulam Mohammed.

In considering these proposals it must be remembered that they do not come into operation at all till Parts I and II of the Resolution of August 13th have been given effect to. That means that the Pakistan armies and allied forces have completely withdrawn from the whole of Kashmir State territory, and later some of our forces are reduced subject to protection from external invasion and internal trouble. Also that, according to any calculation, the preparations for a plebiscite would take a year or more.

As you know, Pakistan has taken infinite pains to build up their military position in Jammu and Kashmir. They are still strengthening their position. It seems to me almost impossible for them to agree to the proposals (including of course the Resolution of August) and withdraw all their forces. If by any chance they did withdraw them, undoubtedly that would affect their prestige greatly in Kashmir.

You will notice that the Plebiscite Administrator will in theory derive his powers from the Jammu and Kashmir State.

I am not analysing these proposals in detail now. I am merely sending them to you to keep in touch with developments. But we must be ready with our final opinion by the time Lozano comes here. We must therefore confer with each other before then. . . .

. . . There is some chance of President Soekarno of Indonesia coming here about the 20th of this month.⁵ I do not know how long he will stay. I shall let you know as I would like you to meet him.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

5. In fact, Soekarno did not come, having been arrested by the Dutch on 19 December.

33. Cable to G. S. Bajpai¹

Reference your telegram from Paris No. 9 dated 12th, containing revised proposals of Kashmir Commission.²

As Lozano is due to arrive here soon we presume that Commission does not expect us to send reply before we have met Lozano. In view of importance of matter we have to consult Kashmir Government also. Proposals as they emerge after repeated revision are not quite clear. We presume you are sending full text to us by air mail.

For your personal information we might tell you that we are likely to agree to proposals subject to clarification in some respects.

1. New Delhi, 14 December 1948. J.N. Collection.

2. Bajpai said that the Commission had fully accepted Nehru's suggestions that the Plebiscite Administrator be appointed formally to post by Kashmir Government and that a copy of the report be sent to that Government. Para B.3(b) had been amended to read: "The Plebiscite Administrator shall derive from State of Jammu and Kashmir powers he considers necessary for organising and conducting plebiscite and for ensuring free and impartial plebiscite." Para B.6(b) now read: "All persons (other than citizens of State) who on or since August 15th 1947 have entered it for other than lawful purposes, shall be required to leave State."

34. Cable to G. S. Bajpai¹

Received your telegrams 3076, 3097² and 3098. We shall meet Lozano on 20th or 21st in Delhi.

We have received information that very heavy bombardment taking place on Beri Pattan bridge between Akhnoor and Naushahra in Jammu Province. This is serious attack on our lines of communications and we shall have to resist it. This may involve our transferring some troops there. You may draw Lozano's or Commission's attention to this.

In view of possible developments I am arranging to have reports sent to Krishna Menon during my absence in Jaipur. You can advise him as how best to use them.

1. New Delhi, 15 December 1948. J.N. Collection.

2. On 14 December, Bajpai said that since the Commission was due to report to the Security Council before 3 January 1949, the proposal that Lozano should visit New Delhi after 5 January was not feasible, and that the Commission did not expect any reply before Nehru had a talk with Lozano who would reach New Delhi on 18 December along with himself.

35. To V. K. Krishna Menon¹

Jaipur

December 18, 1948

My dear Krishna,

I wrote to you a brief note two days ago and promised a longer letter. I am now enclosing a copy of a letter I am sending to Stafford Cripps.² I have dealt with most matters in this letter and therefore I need not say anything more about them.

Today I sent a telegram to you containing a message to be given to the United Kingdom Government. It seems to me scandalous the way British officers are behaving in Pakistan and taking full part in organising major attacks in our territory. The situation in Kashmir is a serious one and it may well blow up. The Pakistanis are desperate. They see the position worsening for them and they are in a mood for a wild gamble. They would never have done this but for the active encouragement and support of the British element, both military and civil.

I think the time has come when we must have a clarification of all these points from the U.K. Government. I want to know particularly whether they are going to send us the promised military supplies or not. There has been far too much prevarication about this. If they do not intend sending them, they should let us know and we shall make other arrangements.

I have not sent a reply to Attlee's last message about India and the Commonwealth. I am not sure that it needs a reply. Anyhow, before sending a reply I should like to have your appraisement of the situation.

Yours,
Jawaharlal

1. V.K. Krishna Menon Papers, N.M.M.L.

2. See *post*, section 11, sub-section I, item 22.

2

KASHMIR

II. Internal Situation

1. To S. M. Abdullah¹

Paris

October 28, 1948

My dear Sheikh Abdullah,

Thank you for your letter of October 15th with its enclosures. I have read the Resolutions passed by the Committee of The National Conference and adopted by the Convention at Srinagar on 12th October.² I am very glad you held these meetings and adopted these Resolutions.

I have had some talks about Kashmir with various people here. They have not led to any definite results and I am afraid there is little chance of their doing so. The United Nations Commission has not reported yet. I am told they are waiting for our departure to India before they come to Paris to report, i.e. probably they will report about the 6th or 7th of November. The report will presumably be published.

I do not know what the report is going to be but vague rumours have reached me that the Commission have rather drifted away from the attitude they took up in India. Probably, they will just make a factual report without any recommendations.

I expect to return to Delhi on November 7th. I should like to meet you sometime after my return. Not immediately as I shall be overwhelmed with work for the first few days. We shall fix up a meeting after my return.

I have heard that your daughter is going to get married. All my love and good wishes to her.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. J.N. Collection.

2. A special convention of over three hundred representatives of the people of Jammu and Kashmir had on 12 October 1948, unanimously ratified a resolution, passed on 11 October by the Working Committee of All-Jammu and Kashmir National Conference, recommending the permanent accession of the State to the Indian Union. The resolution spoke of building a 'New Kashmir' which transcended all barriers of race, religion, colour and economic inequality whereas Pakistan with its basis on the two-nation theory and its emphasis on religious distinctions did not and could not accommodate such a programme.

2. To S. M. Abdullah¹

Paris

October 28, 1948

My dear Sheikh Abdullah,

You will remember my speaking to you about Mrs. Margaret Kak.² Since then, I understand that Kak has been sentenced on one of the charges preferred against him. Presumably there are some other charges.

When in London, I received several letters from her. Lord and Lady Mountbatten also spoke to me about her on several occasions. Rajaji has now written to me about her and I enclose his letter to me.

I do feel that in the circumstances, it would redound to the credit of the Kashmir Government to allow Kak to leave Kashmir. He may be asked to give an undertaking that he will not seek to return to Kashmir without the express permission of the Government. This will protect your interests substantially and it will show to the world that you are not interested in just punishing him. Otherwise, this matter will drag on to be a source of irritation.

As I told you, my difficulty has been that the charges against him are of a trivial kind which do not impress people much. His real sins were much more serious. To sentence him after long trial on a small issue makes people think that he was blameless in regard to the really serious charges brought against him.

I hope, therefore, that you and your Government will take the view I have suggested above and save yourselves trouble in future.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. J.N. Collection.

2. Wife of Ramachandra Kak, Prime Minister of Jammu and Kashmir State from 1945 to 10 August 1947.

3. To Lady Mountbatten¹

New Delhi

November 12, 1948

My dear Edwina,

I have just received your letter of the 4th November together with a letter from Sarah Macqueen.² I do not know anything about this matter, as I was away at the time, I am immediately enquiring into it and shall let you have the answer of the R.I.A.F.

May I say, however that I think it is absurd for anyone to imagine that an R.I.A.F. plane would deliberately bomb a hospital wherever it might be. There must have been some mistake or some accidental happening. Any intelligent person can know that any such incident, apart from its human aspect, injures the reputation of the Air Force. I am sure that none of our young men would ever do it deliberately.

Yours,
Jawaharlal

1. J.N. Collection.

2. She had alleged to Lady Mountbatten that the I.A.F. had bombed a hospital in Bagh, a town under Pakistani occupation.

4. The War of Ideologies in Kashmir¹

What has been happening in Kashmir for the last one year and a half has increased our love for that state. When someone whom we consider near is attacked, it becomes our duty to struggle for their protection. The events of last year in Kashmir made the people, who have never seen that state nor had attachments there intimately realize their duty towards it.

What has happened in Kashmir will no doubt greatly influence India's history. Kashmir affects not only India, but the whole world. There are many

1. Speech at a reception given in his honour by the Kashmir Association of Delhi, 14 November 1948. Based on reports from *The Hindustan Times*, 15 November and *National Herald*, 16 November 1948.

SELECTED WORKS OF JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

reasons for this. One of the most important of these, as Sheikh Abdullah has frequently emphasized, is that we are fighting an ideological war in Kashmir.

The U.N. Security Council seems to forget or ignore the fundamentals in the Kashmir struggle. They regard it as a wrangle between two countries for possession of some territory. They do not seem to remember that Gandhiji had practised the principles of non-violence and peace in this country, and by training and temperament Indians could never think lightly of war. It is only when we realised the dangerous implications of Pakistan's intervention in Kashmir that we took necessary defensive action.

Our stand on the Kashmir issue is morally sound too. I had talks with Gandhiji on this on a number of occasions. He had no faith in war, but he never said that the sending of our troops to defend Kashmir was a mistake on the part of the Government of India. Whatever has been done on behalf of the Government or the Indian Army is above board and nobody can complain that we have done anything we should be ashamed of.

Kashmir is a symbol of the ideological war that is being fought over the two-nation theory. Whether that theory is wrong or right will be proved by our success or failure. Some people in Pakistan said that if Kashmir was not incorporated into Pakistan that state would not survive. I feel that, if Kashmir is taken by Pakistan, it would mean complete annihilation of this beautiful state; it would lead to its complete economic ruination. As a matter of fact the very basis of Pakistan, which is based on the two-nation theory, will crumble if India succeeded in Kashmir.

5. To S. M. Abdullah¹

New Delhi
November 15, 1948.

My dear Sheikh Saheb,

I have had a long talk with Bakshi and told him of the various developments that took place in London and Paris when I was there. I was thinking of suggesting to you to come to Delhi, but now I have decided to pay a brief visit to Srinagar. I intend starting from here on Saturday morning (20th November) at about 7 a.m., reaching Srinagar Airport between 9.30-

1. J.N. Collection.

and 10.00 a.m. I intend returning soon after lunch the next day, 21st November, so as to reach here before 6.

The only real business I have in Srinagar is to have a good talk with you and to meet, if possible, Thimayya.² I understand that Cariappa³ and Kalwant Singh⁴ will also be there then. I have suggested to Kalwant Singh that if it is convenient, I might pay a visit to one of the fronts. I am not sure if this can be managed in the time available. That is for you and Kalwant Singh to decide. I believe he is enquiring into the matter. As to which front, I suppose we might leave out the Zoji La front as I have already been there, at any rate to Baltal, and it would take too much time. I should like to go to Gurez, but that too would take a lot of time. Perhaps Uri is indicated. Of course it is not very necessary for me to go to any front at all.

Accompanying me will be two Iranian Princesses,⁵ sisters of the Shah of Iran,⁶ together with the husband of one of them.⁷ Also probably Indira, Chandrakha, Tara and Rita might go. They will all return with me the next day. I do not want any publicity to be given or any functions to be organised for the Iranian Princesses. They are on a private visit and their wishes should be respected. All they want to do is to have a look at the place and to make some purchases. They can be taken to the Kashmir Emporium and to the Moghul gardens.

If I go to any of the battle fronts, I shall of course go by myself. That is, none of the girls will accompany me.

Many thanks for your message of good wishes on my birthday.

I suppose you will put us all up at the Chashma Shahi house. We would rather live together than be separated.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

2. Maj.-Gen. K.S. Thimayya, was in charge of the Infantry Division during 1948-49 operations in the Srinagar valley.
3. General K.M. Cariappa was the G.O.C.-in-C., Western Command from January 1948 to January 1949.
4. Maj.-Gen. Kalwant Singh was the Chief of General Staff, 1948-50.
5. Ashraf and Fatima.
6. Mohammad Reza Pahlavi (1919-80); the Shah of Iran, 1941-79.
7. Ahmad Shafiq, the husband of Princess Ashraf, was also the Director General of Civil Aviation, Iran.

6. To Lady Mountbatten¹

New Delhi
November 22, 1948

My dear Edwina,

I wrote to you a few days ago about the alleged bombing by the Indian Air Force of a hospital in Bagh. Two days ago I asked my office to send you some papers in this connection, containing the report of our Defence Ministry (Air Section). Elmhirst and others are indignant at the allegation that any of our airmen have deliberately bombed a hospital.

I have just come back from a brief visit to Kashmir, where I interviewed one of our senior airmen concerned with this affair. He told me that they had received very definite information that Bagh was a centre of military activity, where large dumps of ammunition etc., were being put up. Daily convoys brought them to Bagh and from Bagh they were radiated to the neighbouring fronts. They were asked to bomb these dumps. They were anxious to avoid damage to any civilian life or property and, more especially not to touch any hospital. They went out of their way, before bombing, to send a reconnoitering plane which flew low and took pictures. These pictures disclosed a hospital marked with a large Red Cross. Express orders were issued to avoid this as well as other areas. In fact this was avoided and photographs taken subsequent to the bombing show that this hospital had not been affected at all by the bombing. It is possible that there was a small hospital with some smaller marking which was not visible and which does not appear in the photographs taken. This might have been hit by a bomb. We have no information about it except the complaint that has been made.

Bagh has been a centre of large concentrations with a view to big attacks on Poonch city. Field guns and medium guns have been brought to bear on Poonch city and it became difficult even to send supplies by air to Poonch because of our planes being fired at. As a result of this it was decided to open out a supply route by road to Poonch city. This relatively small operation has been nearly completed, though certain obstructions still remain.

Yours,
Jawaharlal

1. J.N. Collection.

7. To F. R. R. Bucher¹

New Delhi

November 24, 1948.

My dear General Bucher,

Thank you for your letter of 22nd November. I think it is a good idea for you to write to me occasionally putting down your thoughts on more important matters. I presume that at least some of these matters are mentioned by you in your various committees who can look into them. For instance, what you say about equipment.

We have now gone far towards relieving Leh and Poonch town. I suppose these operations will be completed soon and then we shall take some steps to consolidate our position there, and I think that we should not indulge in any other offensives for the present. Indeed for the whole of winter I do not see any chance of a major offensive on either side. During the next three or four months political developments may take place which might alter the situation.

While we do not take any major offensive, we cannot allow our minds to lie fallow and for our activities to become static. Whatever the future may be, we have to think in terms of possible developments demanding an effort from us. For this we should gradually but firmly prepare. Apart from any design on our part, we have to be wary of what the opposite party might do.

Muzaffarabad and Mirpur are out of reach at present and for many months and I cannot say just yet what line in regard to them might be. But Kotli is of somewhat different category. It is conceivable that we might consider it desirable to go towards Kotli. But not yet or in the near future.

I suppose we can utilize this winter period for giving some relief to our forces who have been fighting without rest for so long.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. J.N. Collection.

SELECTED WORKS OF JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

8. Paintings of War in Kashmir¹

I am happy to inaugurate this exhibition. An exhibition of this kind helps the people in understanding what has been happening in Kashmir.

The story of Kashmir is an extraordinary one. It is a pity that the part played in this story by the people and the Government of Kashmir, the Government of India and, above all, by the Indian Army and the Air Force has not been fully presented to the people.

Even though modern photography has achieved much, there still remains certain things which it is unable to depict. The feelings that a painter can put in a picture cannot be put in by a photographer.

1. Speech at inauguration of exhibition of paintings by Kanwal Krishna, New Delhi, 2 December 1948. From *The Hindustan Times*, 4 December 1948.

9. To S. M. Abdullah¹

New Delhi
December 9, 1948

My dear Sheikh Saheb,

Kachru² told me two days ago that you had spoken to him about some money which Hirday Nath Kunzru had disbursed to Kashmiri Pandits in Srinagar. Apparently Sucheta Kripalani said something about this to you.

I was greatly surprised to learn about this, as I knew nothing about this. If I had known, I would of course have mentioned it to you. I took steps immediately to find out from Hirday Nath Kunzru. I had to go away to Dehra Dun yesterday and have just returned. Kunzru tells me that when he went to Kashmir in June or July last, he was approached by a considerable number of Kashmiri Pandit families who pointed out their economic difficulties to him and were specially concerned about the marriage of their daughters.

1. J.N. Collection.

2. Dwarkanath Kachru.

They were also otherwise badly off in regard to clothing etc. He asked for particulars about individual cases, more specially about girls who were to be married.

On his return to Delhi Kunzru made arrangements for money to be sent or advanced more specially for the particular purpose of helping those families with girls of marriageable age.

I wish he had told me about this earlier because it was proper that you should know about it and that whatever arrangements were to be made were properly made. There can be no objection to help being given to people in need of it provided this is done in the right way.

No further news has come from Paris about the Kashmir issue before the Security Council. My last telegram to Bajpai was a stiff one and this was communicated to the Commission. I expect Bajpai back here within four or five days. My sister is expected here on Sunday next and she will be able to give us further information.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

3

HYDERABAD

1. To Walter Monckton¹

London
11 October 1948

My dear Monckton,

Thank you for your letter of 4 October.² I hope I shall be able to meet you during my stay in London and discuss Hyderabad problems with you. Recently, events in Hyderabad have not only gone a long way to solve our Hyderabad problem but have also had a most beneficial results in the whole situation in India. The communal situation has improved tremendously.

We are proceeding cautiously in Hyderabad and for some time at least, there will be no change in the present administration which is a military Governorship at the top, but the normal administration carrying on with only a few changes. There is no question of our dealing with the Nizam or his dynasty in any way which is discourteous to him.

It is our intention to utilise the services of men like Zain Yar Jung and Ali Yavar Jung as soon as possible.

We have no desire to have any persecution of any person but there is a strong feeling, both among Hindus and Muslims, against some of the leading Razakars and more specially Razvi and his clique.³ What will be done later will have to be decided subsequently.

I have no objection to your going to Hyderabad⁴ but it is yet early to fix any date for some time at least. Your going there might be misunderstood because, unfortunately and not incorrectly, you are associated in the public mind with certain past happenings. We can see to this later.

You mentioned something about Goa⁵ in your letter. I do not quite understand this. The problem of Goa is a separate problem which India will have to tackle because Portuguese Goa is an anachronism in the India of today. However, we wish to proceed gently in the matter.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. *Sardar Patel's Correspondence 1945-50*, Vol. 7, pp. 256-257.
2. Monckton expressed his relief that police action in Hyderabad was quietly accomplished without any large-scale communal troubles, and suggested that the moderate course followed till then should be continued and services of Zain Yar Jung and Ali Yavar Jung be used.
3. Monckton asked for mercy in respect of those including former ministers and Razvi who had erred and were in India's hands.
4. Monckton requested for permission to pay a private and friendly visit to the Nizam in December 1948 and undertook not to make any statement which was not approved of by the Government of India.
5. Monckton mentioned the scope for his successful commercial partnership in Goa.

SELECTED WORKS OF JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

2. Cable to A. V. Pai¹

Independent review of I.M.

rebel
short-day O. 11

Your telegram to Bajpai No. 1684 dated 18th. Have already sent telegram about Kashmir and Commonwealth position. Am meeting Liaquat Ali Khan tonight at dinner with Attlee.

2. Hyderabad issue.

We have informed Security Council that we consider this issue as ended and it is not necessary for our representative to appear before it. Mudaliar² will therefore soon return to India. Presumably, matter is still formally on Security Council agenda like many other matters which have ceased to have any significance. We may take further action about this later.³

3. Commonwealth Conference has dealt with economic, foreign policy and defence matters. Also machinery for consultation between Commonwealth members. Please pass copy to Sardar Patel and Gopalaswami Ayyangar.

1. London, 20 October 1948. File No. KS-53/48, Ministry of States, M.H.A.
2. A. Ramaswami Mudaliar.
3. See *post*, items 18, 20 and 21.

3. To V. K. Krishna Menon¹

London

21 October 1948

My dear Krishna,

I enclose a telegram from Sardar Patel.² In view of what he says I think we should inform Walter Monckton that it would be embarrassing for him to be connected with this matter in any way.

Yours,
Jawaharlal

1. V.K. Krishna Menon Papers, N.M.M.L.
2. In a cable on 20 October Patel said that he had discussed the "whole position" with Rajagopalachari and both agreed that "any connection between Hyderabad case and Monckton" was "undesirable and fraught with serious consequences" and opposed Monckton's going to Hyderabad.

4. Cable to N. Gopalaswami Ayyangar¹

Many problems in connection with Hyderabad affairs have arisen.

1. Krishna Menon tells me that Hyderabad students are individually and collectively approaching him and their condition calls for immediate attention.

2. I understand that certain Hyderabad railway problems have been the subject of communication from High Commissioner to Ministry of States through the Foreign. Also that the Ministry of Industries have sent some communication to the High Commissioner.

3. There is also the general problem of Hyderabad House² and such propaganda as they may be still carrying on.

4. It appears necessary therefore that Government of India should issue overall instruction through Ministry of External Affairs to the High Commissioner here to take over the Nizam's establishments and that this may be done on the basis of a request from the Nizam to Government of India. A power of attorney should be given to the High Commissioner. External Affairs Ministry would thereafter issue general overall instructions to the High Commissioner and the Ministry of States will take necessary and consequential steps at our end, and keep External Affairs Ministry informed. The External Affairs Ministry will be the channel of communication as usual.

5. The High Commissioner will take such steps as are necessary here pursuant to the general instructions given by External Affairs Ministry and will arrange for taking over of work and functions and allocating them as between his departments as he thinks appropriate.

6. All communications about Hyderabad should be to the High Commissioner and not to various departmental heads at India House.

7. Consequently the High Commissioner will probably need some financial powers and sanctions. These he will seek in the normal way when required.

Please pass copy to Sardar Patel and States Ministry.

1. London, 22 October 1948. File No. 35-12/48-Pak.II, M.E.A., N.A.I.

2. Hyderabad House in New Delhi was designed and built by Edwin Lutyens and Abdulla Peer Mohammad in 1931 for the Nizam of Hyderabad. At present it is an official guest-house of the Government of India.

SELECTED WORKS OF JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

5, To Vallabhbhai Patel¹

Paris:

26 October 1948.

My dear Vallabhbhai,

Forgive me for not writing to you more frequently. But you will appreciate how terribly occupied I have been in England. Today I came to Paris and after a week's stay here I go to Cairo and Bombay.

I shall present a report about the Prime Ministers' Conference on my return.² I have had lengthy conversations also in regard to India and the Commonwealth and I shall inform the Cabinet of these on my return. There are other matters too which I shall deal with when I reach Delhi.

I have received your letter of 19 October with its enclosures. Thank you for it. I have today sent you a number of telegrams on a variety of subjects. I shall mention some of them below.

(1) Hyderabad Princesses³ and their children. The Princess of Berar⁴ has been asked by the Nizam and her husband to return immediately to Hyderabad. Her elder son⁵ has just entered Harrow and her younger⁶ son is in another school. The Princess is very much averse to withdrawing the children from the schools and I think she is right because there are no arrangements for proper education in Hyderabad. I think therefore that it would be a pity for the children to be made to go to India at this stage. Of course we cannot interfere in these domestic matters. But a suggestion might be made to the Nizam and his son that it would be a pity to interfere with the children's education.

(2) I saw Attlee yesterday and he talked about proper publicity for Hyderabad in view of atrocities stories being circulated. You have yourself sent me cuttings from *Dawn* containing these stories.⁷ Attlee suggested that foreign newspapermen might be encouraged to go to Hyderabad. I told him that in fact this has been our policy. However, it is worthwhile for you to

1. *Sardar Patel's Correspondence 1945-50*, Vol. 7, pp. 264-265.

2. See *post*, section 10, items 7 and 8.

3. Durr-e-Shahvar and Nilufer, wives of Azam Jah (1906-70) and Muazzam Jah (1907-87) respectively.

4. Durr-e-Shahvar.

5. Mukarram Jah. He succeeded the Nizam on 24 February 1967.

6. Mufakkam Jah.

7. *Dawn* of 11 October 1948 stated that the Indian Army had been let loose to perpetrate the "most horrible atrocities known to human history on the innocent populace" of Hyderabad. It also claimed that sixty per cent of Muslim houses had been burnt. On 13 October 1948, *Dawn* carried copies of letters reportedly sent from Hyderabad drawing attention to the terrible atrocities being committed on Muslims there.

consider this matter and to make such other arrangements for fuller publicity as you may consider necessary.

(3) I think you are right in advising against the engagement of Monckton to lead in the Westminster Bank affair.⁸ It would be a pity, however, if he was engaged by the opposite side. This might injure us in this and some other matters. We are anyhow engaging leading lawyers for the Westminster Bank affair. The question is whether Monckton should be retained for advice, not for personally conducting the case. Stafford Cripps advises us to do so for a variety of reasons. Our solicitor, Sir Dhiren Mitra,⁹ is strongly of this opinion also. I think there is something in these arguments and it would be desirable in the balance to have a retainer with Monckton, making it clear to him that he will not actually appear in the case.

(4) There is another matter regarding Monckton and Hyderabad. Some people have claims from Hyderabad or the Nizam and some cases might be instituted to realise these claims. Monckton has been approached by the claimants to appear for them and he has asked us what he should do about this matter. He has to give us first preference in case we want his services. Otherwise it will be open to him to appear against Nizam of Hyderabad. I do not think this will do us any good and it might well injure our case to some extent. I think therefore that some kind of general retainer should be given to him. This matter is rather an urgent one and an early reply is requested.

(5) Jaipur House: I think the Cabinet decision about acquiring prince's property is the correct one, but keeping in line with it, is it not possible to lease out the house to the U.K. High Commissioner? The U.K. Government attach importance to this and as for Nye, he tells me that it will hardly be possible for him to function unless he has much more room to do so than the U.K. High Commissioner has at present. I feel that we should go a long way to meet the wishes of the U.K. Government, Mountbatten and Nye. Nye is a first-rate person and it is worthwhile helping him in every way. I do not see any difficulty in leasing the house to him.

(6) Our Kashmir conversations here have yielded no results whatever except that some people here have probably a better realization of the problem than they had previously.

Yours,
Jawaharlal

8. This was about the Nizam's accounts in the Westminster Bank.

9. Dhirendra Nath Mitra (1891-1966); Solicitor to the Government of India in England, April 1937-47; Solicitor to the High Commissioner for India in London, 1948.

6. Cable to Vallabhbhai Patel¹

I have your telegram about Monckton and fully appreciate the point of view and the reasons why Rajaji and yourself have come to the conclusion that you have and urge it on me.² There would be no serious difficulty in our freeing ourselves from any commitment to Monckton arising from the fact that it had been mentioned to him that we would like to retain him.

2. During the last few days I have given careful consideration to the different aspects of this matter and also talked it over. There are aspects of this matter which are not perhaps in your minds and present themselves more sharply when one is here.

3. Keeping Monckton out of this matter would help the forces that seek to present the Hyderabad situation in a bad light against us, as a conquest and the relegation of the Nizam to the position of a person who can make no free choice. There is no reason to think that Monckton will not act according to instructions.

4. However in view of the weighty considerations you and Rajaji have in mind and which weigh with me also the best course to adopt would be to retain another King's Counsel in addition to Monckton. It would be possible to arrange that Monckton need not conduct cases if there are any embarrassments arising therefrom or if we do not wish him to do. The former can be explained to him by Krishna Menon.

5. I think on balance the harm that will result from excluding Monckton appears to outweigh the slight risk attendant on the other course.

6. Monckton has also been approached by professional clients to take up cases against Hyderabad. He is entitled to take these if we do not engage him. If this happens, it will be not only against our material interests in respect of the litigation, but would have considerable bad effect on public opinion here and elsewhere.

7. We can decide and regulate the part that Monckton takes. I would therefore ask you to look at the whole matter in the light of these new facts and the proposal I have made as to his employment in a different way from that officially proposed. I have satisfied myself that this is the best course to adopt and I would like your concurrence and also Rajaji's assent.

8. As Monckton must either be briefed or released in two or three days time please telegraph your observations (concurrence) to me to care our delegation in Paris with copy to High Commissioner London.

1. London, 27 October 1948. V.K. Krishna Menon Papers, N.M.M.L.

2. See *ante*, item 3.

7. To Liaquat Ali Khan¹

Paris

November 1, 1948

My dear Nawabzada,

You will remember that I mentioned to you day before yesterday about what *Dawn* had been writing about Hyderabad.² I said that this was completely false and malicious propaganda without the slightest basis of fact. You stated that you had also received some information on this subject. I told you that entry into Hyderabad by air or railway train was completely free, that there was no censorship of any kind, that in fact many foreign press correspondents were continually going to Hyderabad, and that any other correspondents and neutral observers can go there.

I now find from a brief report of your press conference held at the Hotel Crillon on Saturday, October 30th, that you spoke about Hyderabad and said that happenings there would probably shock the world if the true facts were known, that reports received showed that there was a campaign of loot, arson and rape going on in the State and that the Nizam was kept under duress. Further, that censorship did not permit of what was happening in the State being sent out.

I have been exceedingly surprised to read all this as this is completely contrary to the facts. If you had any doubts over any of these matters, you could have easily referred to me. No attempt was made to verify these statements.

You will appreciate that these statements can only create ill will between India and Pakistan. I have refrained from addressing any press conference in London or in Paris. I have avoided discussing India-Pakistan matters with pressmen even informally, except in very general terms about our desiring friendly relations with Pakistan. Evidently, the policy followed by Pakistan is the reverse of this. In committees of the United Nations Assembly, most objectionable speeches continue to be made in regard to India on the subject of genocide. We have tried not to say much of a controversial nature and have even, thus far, refrained from replying to these fantastic charges.

1. J.N. Collection.

2. For instance, in its editorial of 29 October *Dawn* accused the Government of India of a campaign of genocide against Muslims of Hyderabad and alleged that to counteract adverse reactions the Indian authorities were broadcasting statements of individual Muslims of the State in defence of the military regime. The paper asked why virtually all foreign correspondents had been turned out from the State by placing restrictions on their movements which made it useless for them to stay on there.

I wish to state categorically again that the charges in regard to Hyderabad are completely false. There is no censorship and newspapermen can go and report what they like. The Nizam is not under any kind of duress; both he and other members of his family have publicly and privately, expressed their gratitude to the Government of India and to the Military Governor, Major General Chaudhury, for the consideration shown to them and to general administration during this period of transition of Hyderabad State. Conditions in Hyderabad have been and are remarkably peaceful and there is a wide acknowledgment among the people, more especially in the Muslims of Hyderabad, of the peaceful role of the Indian Army. As far as campaign of loot, arson and rape, anything more removed from truth it is difficult to imagine.

I suggest to you that it is grossly unfair to make such charges and that they should be publicly withdrawn when they are proved to be false.

I am not, for the present, referring to statements made by you in your press conferences about other matters although I feel strongly that they were not justified.

I might draw your attention to a message from the correspondent of the *London Times* from Hyderabad dated October 28th in course of which he says:

“Your correspondent is satisfied that the Military Governor and the Civil Administrator³ and their staffs are trying to do justice between man and man.”

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru.

3. D.S. Bakile, the Chief Civil Administrator.

8. Cable to Vallabhbhai Patel¹

In leading article dated November 1st which is not unfriendly, *London Times* stresses importance, in Indian Government's own interest, of their making known all facts about what has been going on in Hyderabad since

1. Paris, 2 November 1948. File No. 35-9/48-Pak.II, M.E.A., N.A.I.

Nizam's surrender.² Article is by way of comment on Liaquat Ali's sweeping charges made at recent press conference in Paris.³ Since Liaquat has been talking in same strain to leaders of Arab delegations to U.N. and others and privately also to people in London it is desirable that fair comprehensive review of developments in Hyderabad since surrender with special reference to structure and functioning of new administration, its impartiality and general reaction to it of Muslims in the State should be published as soon as possible.⁴ If such a review could be undertaken by one or two foreign newspaper correspondents in New Delhi whose objectivity can be depended upon, it might prove more effective than official report but even latter would be useful. I shall be glad if you will consider suggestion and take suitable action.

2. The editorial said that the "sweeping charges made... by the Prime Minister of Pakistan concerning the present state of affairs in Hyderabad show how important it is in the Indian Government's own interests, that all the facts about what has been going on there since the Nizam's surrender should be made freely known to the world."
3. See preceding item.
4. In fact the editorial in *The Times* (London) of 1 November 1948, had praised Indian administration in Hyderabad and thought that after Nizam's surrender, the Indian military Government had made effective use of power; that Indian military rule was showing good sense; that the Muslim minority appeared to be reconciled to sharing power with the Hindus, and that except for some troubled tracts where the Indian authorities were using their troops to restore order, Hyderabad State was settling down.

9. Cable to Liaquat Ali Khan¹

Thank you for your telegram No. 4392 dated 10 November.

There is no restriction to entry into Hyderabad and there is absolutely no censorship of any kind. Numerous foreign correspondents have gone there and continue to go there. We have invited all the foreign correspondents in Delhi particularly to visit Hyderabad whenever they might want to do so and send such reports as they desire. It is thus open to any Delhi correspondent of Pakistan papers to avail himself of this opportunity. Other individuals can also go there when they choose.

1. New Delhi, 11 November 1948. File No. 35-6/48-Pak.II, M.E.A., N.A.I.

Your suggestion that the Pakistan High Commissioner should go there raises a question of propriety. In view of Pakistan's close association with the late government in Hyderabad and their continuing to take up a hostile attitude and encouraging persons inimical to the present Hyderabad Government, we cannot accept any Pakistan official as such to visit Hyderabad for purposes of inspection or otherwise. This has little to do with the individuals concerned. But you will observe from what I have stated above that there are numerous methods of your satisfying yourself through absolutely reliable and impartial persons as to what the conditions are in Hyderabad.

10. The True Situation in Hyderabad¹

Whenever I have had the chance, I have contradicted vigorously the propaganda of the Pakistan Government and newspapers in regard to Hyderabad. I have had the conviction that this propaganda was completely without foundation. But my conviction has been somewhat shaken by some recent accounts that I have had. Of course I am still convinced that Pakistan propaganda is amazingly exaggerated. Nevertheless there appears to be some basis for it.

2. I have recently had talks with Kazi Abdul Ghaffar² and Miss Padmaja Naidu, who have just returned from Hyderabad.³ They are both reliable observers. Both remained almost entirely in Hyderabad city itself. All that they could report was what they had heard there from friends, acquaintances and others. There were also many thousands of refugees in Hyderabad from all parts of the State and these refugees were full of tales of woe.

3. The impression I have gathered from these talks is that while our army is generally believed to have functioned well and to have protected the people, there is little doubt that a very large number of outbreaks took place in the

1. Note to Ministry of States, 14 November 1948. J.N. Collection.
2. Kazi Mohammad Abdul Ghaffar (1888-1956); editor Firangi Mahal's Khilafatist paper *Akhawat*, 1919-20; Editor, *Payam* (Hyderabad), 1934-46; editor, *Jamhur* (Calcutta); after partition was General Secretary, Anjuman Taraqqi Urdu.
3. Padmaja Naidu and Kazi Mohammad Abdul Ghaffar visited Hyderabad in October-November 1948 to know the exact situation. Later during November-December Abdul Ghaffar revisited Hyderabad along with Sunderlal, Maulana Abdulla Misri and Farrukh Sayer Shakeri to assess the affected districts.

small towns and villages⁴ resulting in the massacre of possibly some thousands of Muslims by Hindus, as well as a great deal of looting etc. The reports of the refugees are of course very much coloured and it is not surprising that a person who listens to them may believe in these coloured accounts. Still it appears to be probable that killing has taken place on a fairly extensive scale and I imagine that the figure of killed might well be a thousand or more. Wherever the army went it protected the people, but as soon as it marched on, these attacks occurred.

4. This information is contrary to what I had believed and I should like it to be verified through our military and civil authorities in Hyderabad. We must know the truth, or else we shall be caught saying things which are proved to be false later.

5. Before I went to England, at a conference here on Hyderabad, it was decided that administrative changes should be limited to those that were considered absolutely necessary. In fact it was the military's job not to interfere with the existing administration except for security reasons. Any more radical changes were to be left over to a later period when some kind of elected government was functioning. I am told however that changes in administration have been made rapidly and on an extensive scale. This appears to be contrary to what I have been stating in England and elsewhere. I understand that this has given rise to widespread fear among the Muslim population and the complaint that every effort is being made now to Hinduisate the entire administration. It will be remembered that many of our troubles after the partition last year were due to the removal of Hindu officers from Pakistan and Muslim officer from West Bengal and East Punjab. Any rapid change-over at this stage in Hyderabad may lead to undesirable results. In any event it is opposed to the policy we have proclaimed.

6. I cannot imagine that security reasons necessitate extensive changes. Instances have been mentioned to me where completely harmless persons like Dr. Zakir Husain's brother⁵ and Dr. M.A. Ansari's nephew⁶ have been removed from their posts. Such things may of course have happened anywhere. But they do put one on enquiry as to how things are being done.

4. It was found that many Muslims in outlying areas of Aurangabad, Bhair, Bidar, Gulbarga, Nanded, Jalna, Nizamabad, Osmanabad and Vijaywada were assaulted, killed and looted.
5. Yusuf Husain Khan (1902-1979); Reader, History, Osmania University, 1930-45; Professor, 1945-57; Pro Vice-Chancellor, Aligarh Muslim University, 1958-65.
6. Mohammad Ahammad Ansari (b. 1901); Judge, High Court, Hyderabad, 1946-56, Andhra Pradesh, 1956-59, Kerala, 1959-60; Chief Justice, High Court, Kerala, March 1960-November 1961.

7. I understand that a very large number of civil and police officers from Bombay, Central Provinces, and Madras have been sent to Hyderabad. Many of them are very junior and now they have to face delicate and novel situations for which they have no experience. It is always dangerous when a sense of unrestricted power comes to a young and inexperienced officer. From the information received by me, this power has not been rightly used often enough.

8. One of the persistent charges made against us is that we intend to kill what is called Muslim culture. Hyderabad is known all over the Middle East as a city of Muslim culture. The Osmania University⁷ is well known and even better known is the publication department and the translation bureau⁸ of the State. Whatever might be done in the future, it seems to me highly important that the activities of this University and the publication and the translation departments should be carried on as before. It is equally important that the grants for educational purposes should be continued. I understand that these grants are being continued in the great majority of cases. I am told however that the grant of the Osmania University is being greatly reduced and that the translation bureau has been asked to suspend its activities. I have no means of judging what the financial situation is. But any attempt to lessen the activities of the University or of the publication and translation bureaus will have a very bad effect on opinion abroad and Pakistan will get a powerful weapon against us.

9. I shall be grateful if these matters are enquired into and I am told how things stand. I should particularly like to know whether the policy of minimum interference in the administration is being pursued or not. I would welcome Major General Chaudhury's and Mr. Bakhle's opinions on the matters referred to above.

7. The Osmania University was started in 1918 as an all-India University where science and humanities were taught through Indian languages. Essential features of this university were (1) absence of the foreign language medium and (2) effort to create a synthesis of Hindu and Muslim culture.
8. The translation bureau was founded in August 1919.

11. Cable to Sri Prakasa¹

Your telegram 1310 of November 11.

Dawn's statement is complete misrepresentation of what Swami Ramananda Tirtha said.² I have seen report of his interview³ in Hyderabad and have discussed matter personally with him. He was referring entirely to Communist activities in certain pockets of Hyderabad State. Chief sufferers from these activities are State Congress people as well as others who oppose the Communists. There is nothing communal about it.

1. New Delhi, 15 November 1948. File No. 35-9/48-Pak. II, M.E.A., N.A.I.
2. *Dawn's* editorial of 11 November 1948 said, "Now Swami Ramananda Tirtha is complaining that reports of arson, murder and wholesale destruction of property pour in everyday in Hyderabad."
3. In his interview of 8 November 1948 Swami Ramananda Tirtha said "Communist activities have become a menace to peace. They are still up in arms and are using totalitarian methods to enforce their programmes...putting an additional strain on the Union Army." *Dawn* distorted this to allege that "with the large areas devastated by communal pogroms, and the resultant weakening of the administration, the Communists have a better opportunity."

12. Cable to V. K. Krishna Menon¹

Monckton's letter forwarded to Nizam. Both Rajaji and Sardar Patel are anxious that there should be no direct link between Nizam and Monckton.² There is strong feeling on this subject in India and it would be unwise to ignore it.

As regards Monckton appearing on behalf of State Government in particular cases matter being considered. Generally speaking Monckton's close association with Hyderabad in past is bound to be of considerable embarrassment both to him and to us. Much would depend on the nature of the particular case.

1. New Delhi, 16 November 1948. V.K. Krishna Menon Papers, N.M.M.L.
2. See *ante*, items 1, 3, 5 and 6.

SELECTED WORKS OF JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

13. To V. P. Menon¹

New Delhi

26 November 1948

My dear V.P.,

I enclose a note² which will speak for itself. I am rather worried about this matter and I feel that we should pay much more attention to the psychological aspects of the question.³ If possible, some good non-officials⁴ should go there to help the administration and to try to produce a better frame of mind both among the Muslims and the Hindus.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. J.N. Collection.

2. See the next item.

3. V.P. Menon replied on 27 November that the psychological value of Nehru's visit and public meeting would certainly have a great effect in restoring calm, bringing about confidence and putting the activities of rumour-mongers to rest. However a visit was not advised at that juncture because of security problems. Nehru visited Hyderabad on 24-25 December 1948.

4. A four-man goodwill mission, consisting of Kazi Abdul Ghaffar, Pandit Sunderlal, Maulana Abdulla Misri and Farrukh Sayer Shakeri, was sent to Hyderabad at the personal instance of Nehru to study existing conditions and to help in the establishment of communal harmony. After a brief visit to Bidar and Osmanabad districts by Major General Chaudhury, Pandit Sunderlal, Akbar Ali Khan and Fareed Mirza, two teams, one consisting of Pandit Sunderlal, Kazi Abdul Ghaffar, Mulla Abdul Basith and Mohammed Yunus Saleem had toured Bidar, Osmanabad and Nanded while the other consisting of Maulana Abdulla Misri, Farrukh Sayer and Fareed Mirza visited Aurangabad, Bhir and Gulbarga. They took stock of the information collected and sent a report to Vallabhbhai Patel.

14. Restoration of Peace in Hyderabad¹

I have had some additional reports about Hyderabad from a number of people. These reports present a picture which is alarming. This picture is chiefly of the past, that is, of events in September-October, when it is said, large scale killings were indulged in by the civil population (Hindus). It is

1. Note to Ministry of States, 26 November 1948. J.N. Collection.

even more than the killings, it is reported, that looting was on a tremendous scale and as a consequence vast numbers of Muslims are completely destitute. The figure of killings mentioned are so big as to stagger the imagination. It is admitted however that it is impossible with available data to get any accurate figures. Nevertheless the effect left by these accounts on my mind has been most distressing. I think it may be assumed that these accounts are greatly exaggerated and are derived from refugees' tales which are always very unreliable. I am told however that some enquiry was made in two or three districts by people² who went from Hyderabad city and the reports of these enquiries were sent to General Chaudhury.

2. No major complaint is made about the direct behaviour of the army. In some places like Aurangabad, it is said that the army behaved in an exemplary manner. In some other places it is said that the army connived at the looting, though it did not indulge in it itself. Jalna and Bidar are among the places worst affected.

3. If there is even a fraction of truth in these reports, then the situation in Hyderabad was much worse than we had been led to believe. It is important that the exact facts should be placed before us. We want no optimistic account and no suppression of unsavoury episodes. That would lead us to form incorrect judgments.

4. While it is necessary to have as correct a picture as possible of what has happened, what is even more important is how to deal with the present situation. I had a visit today from two Muslim lawyers of Hyderabad, Akbar Ali Khan³ and M.Y. Saleem⁴. I have known both of them slightly for some years. The former non-cooperated from Aligarh University in the early twenties and was at the Jamia.⁵ He told me that he had met General Chaudhury on two or three occasions and had placed his viewpoint before him.

5. Akbar Ali Khan, at my request, prepared a brief memorandum,⁶ copy

2. Swami Ramananda Tirtha visited Bidar and Govind Rao Maheskar and Fareed Mirza visited Nanded, Parbhani and Nizamabad.
3. (b.1899); joined freedom movement 1921, and Congress, 1949; elected to Rajya Sabha in 1954, April 1960 and April 1966; Governor, U.P., November 1972-October 1974; Governor of Orissa, 1974-76.
4. Mohammed Yunus Saleem (b.1912); joined Congress, 1949; Member, Relief and Rehabilitation Committee, 1949-66, Hyderabad Municipal Corporation, 1951-53, and Lok Sabha, 1967-71; Deputy Minister, Law and Waqfs, 1967-June 1970 and Railways, June 1970-March 1971.
5. Jamia Millia Islamia, New Delhi.
6. In this memorandum dated 25 November 1948 Akbar Ali Khan and Yunus Saleem spoke of destitute Muslim families, rise in communal passion and goondaism, and lack of security of life and property; and urged immediate relief and rehabilitation of the uprooted population, grant of suitable compensation and enquiry into the cases of suspensions and dismissals.

of which I enclose. The most important point about this memorandum is the necessity for dealing with the refugee Muslim population. This should be treated as an urgent matter because every delay will react to our disadvantage. Obviously they should go back to their homes in the villages or elsewhere. We must assume responsibility for rehabilitating them. If this is taken in hand at present, the problem is not a big one. But it grows with delay. Many of these refugees, I am told, have nothing with them except the clothes they wear, although they were well-off people. They would like to go back to their homes, but are afraid.

6. A sense of fear seems to pervade the Muslims of Hyderabad. That is perhaps natural after all that has happened. But unless we can lessen this fear, the situation will become worse. Our first objective must be therefore to take such steps as to remove or greatly lessen this fear among the Muslims. If they are afraid of going back to their villages, some security measures should be taken to protect them after their return home. Transport should be provided for them to go or their railway fares paid.

7. Immediate relief should also be given wherever necessary. But it is much better to avoid setting up camps which will absorb a great deal of money and will be bad for the morale of the refugees. The point is that the problem of these people must be handled rapidly and effectively. Any money spent upon them now will save not only greater expenditure later but also prevent further deterioration of the situation.

8. I am prepared to arrange for the United Council for Relief and Welfare to send some workers to Hyderabad to help in this relief work. I am also prepared to give some money from the Prime Minister's Relief Fund for this purpose.⁷

9. In a note⁸ I wrote a little while ago I mentioned the arrest or suspension of Dr. Zakir Husain's brother, who was a professor in the University there. Also the suspension of a relation of Dr. Ansari, I understand that nothing further has been done in regard to these persons and that a large number of others are also suspended or had been dismissed.⁹ These cases should be carefully examined, preferably with the help of some judicial authority. Action taken on a large scale in this respect is apt to defeat its object, specially when *prima facie* some of these persons would be considered harmless

7. Nehru sanctioned Rs. 50,000 to the Hyderabad Refugee Rehabilitation Fund which was launched on 29 December 1948.

8. See *ante*, item 10.

9. Till 25 November the Chief Secretary, the Engineer-in-Chief, the Director of Medical and Jail Departments, Director of Elections, Director General of Police, sixteen Collectors, sixteen Superintendents of Police nearly one hundred tehsildars and police personnel were replaced by persons from Bombay, Central Provinces and Madras.

and without guilt. Government servants can hardly be punished for carrying out orders of Government.

10. I feel that the approach to the problem, and it must be a quick approach, must be:

(1) to inspire confidence among the Muslims;
 (2) to restrain the Hindus from any action against the Muslims and to induce them to treat them (the Muslims) as friendly neighbours. Both these are of course connected;

(3) Then immediate relief should be organised for the refugees and they should be escorted back to their villages. Wherever necessary, some temporary protection should be given to that village. It should be made clear that if the Hindu inhabitants misbehave, they will have to suffer for this; and

(4) The cases of suspended or dismissed personnel should be carefully examined and only the serious cases where there is some evidence, should be dismissed or suspended or other action taken. To involve large numbers in this business is to create complete uncertainty and fear in the minds of the Muslim public. If the test of a government servant is how he behaved in the past against a popular movement, then many of our officers in India, who opposed the Congress movement, would have no place in our services now. Yet we have wisely utilised the services of most of these government servants.

11. If we take quick and effective action to produce normality in Hyderabad, then the running sores will soon be healed.

12. A copy of this note might be sent to Major General Chaudhury. It should of course be treated as Top Secret here and by General Chaudhury.

15. To V. P. Menon¹

New Delhi
 28 November 1948

My dear V.P.,

Thank you for your letter of the 27th November.² As we have had a talk about this matter, nothing further need be said.

1. J.N. Collection.
2. In reply to Nehru's letter of 26 November 1948, V.P. Menon wrote: "As a result of the most careful investigations I am satisfied that while at the initial stage there was some trouble the situation now is entirely under control."

I did not imagine that anything was being deliberately kept away from me in regard to Hyderabad.³ But sometimes there is a tendency to cover up, rather unconsciously, unsavoury details.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

3. V.P. Menon had reiterated: "... neither Chaudhury nor any of his officials is trying to conceal anything from us. Their task is a most difficult and delicate one... they have to deal with the State Congress . . . the disgruntled Muslim element in the State. But on one point Chaudhury is quite determined and firm, that he will not allow the Hindus to molest the minority."

16. Cable to Liaquat Ali Khan¹

Reference your telegram No. 4714 dated 25th November.² As I have mentioned to you there is no difficulty or restriction in the way of any person going to Hyderabad.³ But we cannot accept the right of any government to send their representatives on a roving commission of inquiry. You are aware that the Pakistan Government has in the past adopted a hostile attitude towards India in regard to Hyderabad and is even at the present moment continuing to do so in the United Nations and elsewhere. You are also no doubt aware that large sums of money belonging to the Hyderabad State have been passed over to the Pakistan Government or its representatives. As early as April of this year such large sums were placed at the disposal of Pakistan representatives. This and other evidence shows that Pakistan was intimately connected with activities hostile to the Indian Union and hostile to the present government in Hyderabad. In these circumstances we are unable to offer any special facilities for representatives of Pakistan to visit Hyderabad.

1. New Delhi, 1 December 1948. File No. 35-6/48-Pak.II, M.E.A., N.A.I.
2. Liaquat Ali Khan had requested that Pakistan press representatives be allowed to visit Hyderabad to report on the conditions there.
3. See *ante*, items 7 and 9.

17. Cable to G. S. Bajpai¹

Your telegram 250-D dated 3rd December.² I agree with you that it is best to let sleeping dogs lie. If occasion arises you might convey this view to Pearson.³ You need not, however, go out of your way to suggest that the Canadian proposal to move for removal of Hyderabad issue from Council agenda should be dropped.

1. New Delhi, 4 December 1948. J.N. Collection.
2. Bajpai stated that though there was no mention of Hyderabad in Council's provisional agenda for 3 December afternoon meeting, El Khouri, using Article 10 of Council, drew attention to the omission; that Assistant Secretary General read out relevant minutes of last meeting and Government of India's communications of 6 October and 22 November explaining circumstances why the matter was omitted; and that El Khouri's effort did not get support and the matter was left to the discretion of President and Secretariat.
3. Lester Bowles Pearson (1897-1972); Canadian Minister for External Affairs, 1948-57; President, U.N. General Assembly, 1952-53; Leader of the Opposition in Parliament, 1958-63; Prime Minister of Canada, 1963-68.

18. Cable to G. S. Bajpai¹

Your telegram 262-D dated 5th December. As we have had no communication from Security Council regarding Hyderabad, it seems hardly fitting for us to write to them direct. But you or Vijayalakshmi may inform them on our behalf that conditions in Hyderabad are peaceful and normal and there has been and is complete freedom of entry there to anyone who desires to go by air, railway, or road.² Anyone on behalf of U.N. can go there just as any other visitor. This is of course without prejudice to our view that Council has no jurisdiction in the matter.

I agree with you that no one on our behalf should appear before Council if and when Zafrullah Khan's claim is heard.

1. New Delhi, 7 December 1948. J.N. Collection.
2. On 13 December, in a letter to Security Council, Bajpai wrote to this effect and added that India would not take part in any further discussion on Hyderabad in the United Nations.

19. To A. M. Allapichai¹

New Delhi
December 9, 1948

Dear Mr. Allapichai,

I have just received your letter of the 4th December. I have been taking a great deal of interest in Hyderabad affairs. I find that unfortunate occurrences took place in some rural areas some time back. But it is completely wrong to imagine that our soldiers were guilty of these. In fact I have received from almost every source praise of our army's behaviour. We have been asked on behalf of many Muslims in Hyderabad not to remove our army.

In any event I quite agree with you that everything should be done to relieve people who have suffered in any way. I am myself going to Hyderabad later in this month.

There is nothing wrong in your going to Hyderabad. Any person who chooses to go can go there.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. J.N. Collection.

20. Cable to G. S. Bajpai¹

Your telegram Number 271-D² dated ninth December Hyderabad. We are preparing brief factual statement about Hyderabad³ which will be sent by telegram today. This statement should be handed over to Van Langenhove Chairman Security Council. He should be informed orally that this is without prejudice to question of competence of Council in this matter. As we have already stated we are not prepared to discuss this matter before Council but we gladly give him informally a brief factual statement as an act of courtesy and for his information.

Hope to send statement this afternoon.

1. New Delhi, 12 December 1948. J.N. Collection.
2. Bajpai mentioned Zafnullah Khan's reminder to Security Council urging a meeting on the Hyderabad issue before the Council adjourned for Christmas on 16 December 1948 "in order to arrest the deteriorating situation and avert grave consequences". He added that Van Langenhove wished for an indefinite postponement of Hyderabad question and a factual report on Hyderabad from Government of India would greatly help Van Langenhove and be sufficient to prevent discussion of question by Council.
3. See the next item.

21. Cable to G. S. Bajpai¹

Reference your telegram 271-D dated 9th December² and my telegram Primin 1823 dated 12th December.³ Following message containing brief factual report on existing situation in Hyderabad be handed over to Van Langenhove, Chairman Security Council. Begins:

Indian troops entered Hyderabad on 18th September. They found people stricken with fear, administration completely disorganised and State finances depleted. Hundreds of thousands of Hyderabad Hindu citizens had sought refuge in neighbouring Indian provinces having been victims of Razakar terrorist atrocities. Large numbers of non-Hyderabadi Muslims had been imported. Nearly one hundred thousand of these newcomers were employed in army, police and other State services. There were eleven thousand political prisoners in jails. Thousands of illicit imported firearms including high velocity weapons were in the hands of irresponsible armed irregulars.

2. With the commencement of police action most of district police and civil officers who were pro-Razakars deserted their posts leaving the population to the mercy of unsocial elements. Extremely bad communications were rendered more difficult by heavy rains. It took some time for information to be collected from districts and for Indian Police and troops to be spread in an area of 82,000 square miles with population of eighteen million. During this period there was some disorder, chiefly in the interior. This was caused by Hindus who had suffered at the hands of the Razakars and some of whom had been driven out and were returning and retaliated. Some arson and looting also took place. In Hyderabad city and in rural areas stern action was taken against criminals. By 15th October situation was under complete control and curfew was lifted. Conditions are now normal and stray incidents which occur represent no more than ordinary crime. Most of the looted property has been recovered and returned. Military Governor has personally visited sixteen out of seventeen districts with impartial observers⁴ and found the situation normal. Vast quantities of unlicensed

1. New Delhi, 12 December 1948. V.K. Krishna Menon Papers, N.M.M.L. This cable was repeated to Krishna Menon, High Commissioner in London.
2. Bajpai requested Nehru for a factual report on Hyderabad by India without prejudice to question of competence, which Van Langenhove would read out to the Council.
3. See preceding item.
4. Namely Akbar Ali Khan, Mohammed Yunus Saleem, Kazi Mohammad Abdul Ghaffar, Sunderlal, Maulana Abdulla Misri, Farrukh Sayer Shakeri, Fareed Mirza and Mulla Abdul Basith.

arms have been collected. H.E.H. the Nizam in a letter to Military Governor received yesterday expresses his surprise at Zafrullah Khan's allegations.

"The situation is considerably better than it was some months ago and the subjects of my state are living peacefully. There is no doubt that the administration had broken down during the latter part of the last Ministry's regime but at present the Military Government has achieved success not only in restoring but improving the administrative machinery. All shades of opinion in the State feel that the present administration is impartial and efficient. Through the endeavours of the Military Government my subjects are settling down to normal life."

H.E.H. expresses sorrow at Zafrullah Khan's misleading statement to the Security Council.

3. Due to panic some three thousand Muslims came to Hyderabad from rural areas. Most of them have now returned to their homes. Hindu refugees are returning to Hyderabad. The rehabilitation of both communities is proceeding apace. Loans amounting to four million rupees are being given for rebuilding of houses, purchase of seed, cattle and agricultural implements. Rupees ten thousand have been given to each district officer for immediate gratuitous relief.

4. Administration and services. Hyderabad Army and police strength had been more than doubled by previous regime within one year causing heavy financial drain. These forces are being reduced to normal strength. Almost all old officers are being retained. Action has been taken only against 46 officers for corruption, misappropriation etc. All these officers have a right of appeal to Muslim Chairman of Public Service Commission appointed by previous Ministry. Twelve out of sixteen Secretariat posts are held by members of Hyderabad civil service. Out of a total of over two thousand gazetted officers only 234 are from Indian Union to replace deserters and those found unsuitable. These will be withdrawn as and when suitable substitutes are available from Hyderabad.

5. Financial position. State Budget left in deficit by extravagant expenditure on arms and propaganda by Laik Ali Ministry is now undergoing thorough overhaul. Salient facts in State finances are:

Financial year ending 30th September 1948 closed with a revenue deficit of one hundred twenty five million rupees. Capital expenditure accounted for further disbursement of one hundred seventy three million. In a single year there was thus excess of outgoings over incomings of three hundred million. This was financed by borrowing seventy million and by practically exhausting State's liquid resources. Securities and investments fell from seven hundred thirty seven million at the commencement to five hundred seventeen million at

the close of year, bulk of this balance being locked up in unrealisable investments, loans and advances. Endeavours being now made to put right finances and to balance current year's budget.

Revenue from *Sarf-e-Khas* (Nizam's own *Jagirs*). The *Sarf-e-Khas* and *Jagir* areas with the Ruler and other feudatory notables respectively constitute a State within State occupying nearly 42% of the total area of the Hyderabad State. The Nizam alone derives an income of over thirteen million net from these states. In addition he and his family get a cash privy purse of over seven million rupees from the State.

Nizam is being approached to help rehabilitate the States precarious financial condition by making over the *Sarf-e-Khas* to the State and by agreeing to accept for himself and his family a civil list of ten million rupees.⁵

6. Restoration of economic life: Procurement and distribution of essential commodities like food, cloth etc. which had broken down has been reorganised. Transport and communications which had been put out of action by Nizam's Government on commencement of Police Action have been restored. 36,314 passengers now travel by State buses daily compared to 11,445 at the beginning and 21,165 before Police Action. Two hundred wagon loads of consumer goods arrive every day. Hyderabad railway is carrying 60,358 passengers and 8,755 tons of goods daily against 35,500 passengers and 1,991 tons of goods when Military Government took over.

7. Constituent Assembly: An election commissioner has been appointed and is engaged in preparing electoral rolls on the basis of adult franchise for early election of a constituent assembly to decide the future constitution of the State.

8. H.E.H. as Head of the State receives all courtesies and dignities due to his position and all important decisions are taken with his approval. As early as 8th October he issued a *firman* characterising as mischievous propaganda that he was not free agent.

9. All Muslim educational and cultural institutions inside and outside the State continue to receive their former grants. Osmania University receives every encouragement. Nawab Ali Yavar Jung former Minister of Nizam is the Vice-Chancellor. Nawab Zain Yar Jung another former Minister of Nizam and lately his Agent General to Delhi is a member of the Military Government.

10. A large number of Indian and foreign observers and journalists have visited the State. There are no restrictions of any sort against anybody visiting the State. Message ends.

I am myself going to Hyderabad on 24th December on a brief visit. I shall meet the Nizam, the Military Governor and his Advisers and represen-

5. This was done on 20 February 1949.

tives of the public, both Hindu and Muslim. I shall address public meeting as well as the staff and students of Osmania University.

22. Cable to V. K. Krishna Menon¹

Reference your personal letter dated 20th November² enclosing Monckton's letter to you dated 7th November.³

I have consulted Governor General and my colleagues and we agree with the suggestions⁴ you make in your letter. You may therefore inform Sir Walter Monckton accordingly.

Briefly (i) that the position in Hyderabad with a constitutional government will be different from what existed in the past and the Nizam will have no political constitutional or other governmental work to give to any lawyer in England as this will entirely be the business of the Hyderabad and the Indian Governments;

(ii) that the Nizam has no foreign relations to be dealt with and the relations of the Hyderabad Government with India will be operated through the Government of India as is the case with other States;

(iii) that we have no objection to the retention by the Nizam of Sir Walter Monckton as his legal adviser for dealing with his private and personal affairs. If the Nizam so desires, Monckton will be retained by us on the Nizam's behalf. This will be without prejudice to our instructing him and/or others as well in any matter.

1. New Delhi, 14 December 1948. J.N. Collection.
2. Krishna Menon wrote "the result of the action proposed to be taken regarding Monckton will be to assist the forces that are working against us. People continue to be worried about Hyderabad and it affects their thinking about us... Monckton will be very useful to us in quarters that we—I cannot easily penetrate unaided.... The impression that the Nizam is our prisoner is held here to a greater extent than may be known in India, our retaining Monckton is helpful to us in this matter."
3. Monckton sought Krishna Menon's help in pleading his case before Nehru for retention of his sentimental tie of being the Nizam's legal adviser.
4. Krishna Menon suggested that Monckton might be told that (a) there would be no political or constitutional work from the Nizam in Hyderabad, (b) the Nizam's foreign connection and relations with India were a federal matter and could be operated through Government of India, and (c) he would continue to be retained by India on the Nizam's instructions without prejudice to Government of India's instructing him, and/or others as well as its discretion in the matters relating to Hyderabad so that he would in name be a Nizam's Counsel.

23. To V. P. Menon¹

New Delhi
15 December 1948

My dear V.P.,

Swami Ramananda Tirtha came to see me this evening about my Hyderabad programme. He was dissatisfied with the arrangements insofar as the State Congress was concerned, and the position generally allotted to it. As you know, he wanted very much that the public meeting should be held under the auspices of the State Congress. Otherwise too he feels that the State Congress is being rather ignored.

I explained to him that we had no desire to ignore the State Congress. Indeed I should like to strengthen it and I shall probably say something about it when I am there. But on going as Prime Minister it did not seem to be fitting that I should function under the auspices of the State Congress. Therefore I had suggested the formation of a reception committee which would get over some of these difficulties.

He also spoke to me about the meeting of the State Congress workers which he wanted to hold in the State Congress Offices. Again I told him that in this I shall not like to interfere with the Military Governor's discretion, as he had to make all kinds of arrangements, security and other.

He mentioned that even at the reception at the aerodrome it was proposed to give him a very unimportant place.

I think you might write to Chaudhury and suggest two or three things. While I do not wish to be too much of a partisan of any group, I think that the State Congress, i.e., the official State Congress,² certainly deserves some encouragement from me. I have myself been connected with it as President of the States People's Conference for many years and it would be rather odd if I ignored that connection. Therefore it would be desirable if in some small matters some care was taken that the State Congress had a proper place. For instance at the reception at the aerodrome Swami Ramananda should be given some prominence. In the formation of the Reception Committee the State Congress will of course be adequately represented. No other group as a group should be represented. The others should be some prominent citizens in their individual capacity.

1. J.N. Collection.

2. While the official State Congress was represented by its President, Swami Ramananda Tirtha, a parallel group led by Janardan Rao Desai included dissidents expelled from the District Congress Committees and All Hyderabad Congress Committee.

SELECTED WORKS OF JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

There is one other matter which is worth considering. I do not want the meeting of workers to be held in the State Congress Offices. That will entail special arrangements. But it might be desirable if on my way from some one function to another, I visited the State Congress Offices for five minutes. You might pass this on to Chaudhury.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

4

COMMUNALISM

1. To Bhagavan Das¹

New Delhi

November 10, 1948

My dear Babu Bhagavandasji,

I have just seen an article bearing your name which has appeared in the press. In this you are reported to have written as follows:

"I have been reliably informed that a number of youths of R.S.S. underwent the self-imposed indignity and shame of pretending to become even converts to Islam in order to secure the confidence of Muslim Leaguers in New Delhi and so were able to inform Sardar Patel and Nehruji in the very nick of time of the Leaguers' intended coup on September 10, 1947, whereby they had planned to assassinate all Members of Government and all Hindu officials and thousands of Hindu citizens on that day and plant the flag of Pakistan on the Red Fort and then seize all Hind."

There is much more in the same strain and further it is stated that:

"If those high-spirited and self-sacrificing boys had not given the very timely information to Nehruji and Patelji there would have been no Government of India today, the whole country would have changed its name into Pakistan, tens of millions of Hindus would have been slaughtered and all the rest converted to Islam or reduced to stark slavery...."

I have been very much surprised to read this and can hardly believe that you have written it. I am writing to you because my name has been mentioned. No such information was given to me at any time. But I was receiving information from a hundred sources all the time and the information I received was wholly contrary to what you have stated.² It is quite fantastic to imagine that there was any plan on the part of the Muslims of Delhi of the kind indicated. The Muslims of Old Delhi and New Delhi

1. J.N. Collection.

2. Bhagavan Das, on 14 November 1948, sought Nehru's permission for issuing the following press statement, "I have just learnt from Shri Jawaharlalji, our Prime Minister, that what I wrote to press some weeks back, about having 'been reliably informed that a number of youths of R.S.S. movement...were able to inform Sardar Patel and Nehruji in the very nick of time etc...' is utterly wrong and that 'no such information was given' to him at any time. I make haste to inform the public of this, and to express my extreme regret that I allowed myself to be misled by the R.S.S. young men who told me all those lies."

SELECTED WORKS OF JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

were completely frightened and terror-struck from the very beginning and nearly all the massacring was done by Hindus and Sikhs of Muslims. There was a plan, but the plan was to eliminate Muslims from Delhi. In fact the record of casualties itself indicates what the plan was and how far it succeeded.

Ever since the partition there has not been a ghost of a chance for any Muslims in India to create any major trouble. They have been far too weak and frightened.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

2. To M.S. Golwalkar¹

New Delhi
November 10, 1948

Dear Shri Golwalkar,

I am in receipt of your letters of the 3rd and 8th November.

The Home Ministry of the Government of India are concerned with internal matters and thus have to deal with the problem of the R.S.S. I understand that they have given a great deal of attention to it and have consulted provincial governments also. I suggest that you should deal with that Ministry directly and I am forwarding the papers you sent me to them.

In the course of the last year both the Central Government and the provincial governments have received a mass of information in regard to the objectives and activities of the R.S.S. This information does not fit in with what has been stated by you in this behalf. Indeed it would appear that the declared objectives have little to do with the real ones and with the activities carried on in various forms and ways by people associated with the R.S.S. These real objectives appear to be completely opposed to the decisions of the Indian Parliament and the provision for the proposed Constitution of India. The activities, according to our information, are anti-national and often subversive and violent. You would appreciate therefore that mere assertions to the contrary do not help very much.

I would gladly see you but, apart from my being very fully occupied since my return from Europe, I do not think such an interview will serve any useful purpose. As the matter is in the hands of the Home Ministry, it is desirable that you should deal with them directly.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. J.N. Collection.

3. Fight Communalism¹

Friends,

May I appeal to you, the citizens of Delhi, to fight narrow-mindedness, communalism and selfishness. These forces, if not checked immediately and effectively, will lead to the disintegration of the country. One community may succeed in gaining a few advantages for itself at the expense of the rest of the people, but these gains will be shortlived and the community or the class will also in the long run suffer because in the final analysis the interests of the nation and a particular group of people are identical. You should not consider your community different from the rest of the people.

At present, India is passing through a critical phase. You will have to carefully consider every step that you may take. You should stand firm and united. We have to march forward together and we may even succeed in preventing further deterioration in the world situation.

I must make it clear that there is nothing rigid about the Draft Constitution of India.² While we frame the new Constitution, our main aim will be to create a set-up which will do away with all divisions and barriers. We want to make India a well-knit and homogeneous unit where one province would not be treated differently from another. According to the new Constitution, we shall sink or swim together.

The gospel of eternal truth preached by Guru Nanak Dev was practised in the political field by Mahatma Gandhi and he succeeded in winning India her freedom. Reliance on the same teachings can now result in the solution of some of our most difficult problems.

I also wish to say that I shall continue to serve the country as long as I live. If, however, at any time I find that the country is following a wrong path, I shall stand up against it and try to oppose it as best as I can. *Jai Hind.*

1. Speech to a Sikh assembly, Delhi, 16 November 1948. From *The Statesman*, 17 November 1948.
2. Nehru had said this to allay the fears of a section of the Sikh community that the new Constitution, in order to curb communal tendencies, might restrict civil liberties.

SELECTED WORKS OF JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

4. To Syama Prasad Mookerjee¹

New Delhi
November 19, 1948

My dear Syama Prasad,

Thank you for your letter of the 19th November informing me that in view of the latest decisions of the Hindu Mahasabha Working Committee you have decided to resign from that organisation.² If I may say so, you have acted correctly and I congratulate you upon it.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. J.N. Collection.

2. Mookerjee announced on 23 November 1948 that he had resigned from the Working Committee of the Hindu Mahasabha, since its recent decision to renew the Mahasabha's political activities was against the principles which he had urged the Mahasabha to accept. He said that passions and prejudices based on communal differences must be eliminated if India was to emerge as a great and mighty nation.

5. To Baldev Singh¹

New Delhi
November 23, 1948

My dear Baldev Singh,

I read the note that you gave me today about the Sikh position in East Punjab and we discussed it in our Committee also. I must say that I was surprised and depressed to read it.²

I entirely agree with you that we should help the Sikhs wherever possible. But the proposals you had made seem to me to be basically opposed

1. File No. CA/74/Com/RR/48. Constituent Assembly of India, Constitution Section, Law Ministry.

2. Citing recent instances as to how Sikh hopes of fairplay from the Congress in the Punjab had been belied, the note demanded that the principle of formation of the Punjabi-speaking province be conceded in the new Constitution, or alternatively, the two regions, one Hindustani-speaking, and second, Punjabi-speaking, in East Punjab be recognised, or the district of Gurgaon which had become a part of Punjab only in 1857 be separated from the province so that Punjab became a Sikh majority province. The note also desired the continuing of principle of parity in the provincial cabinet and recognition of the Sikh Scheduled Castes. It also sought a seat in the Central Cabinet for a Sikh and five per cent representation in the central legislature.

to the very things we proclaim and stand for. Our Government as well as the Constituent Assembly have declared themselves to be totally opposed to communalism. We may not be able to put an end to communalism everywhere, but at any rate in all governmental activities we can give it no place or else we shall be completely false to our principles and professions. The Constituent Assembly has already come to certain decisions last year in regard to minorities which are applicable to all of them. We cannot go behind these either. It is clear that no Government can apply one principle to one community and totally different principles to other communities. That is neither practicable nor morally right. Therefore we have to proceed on the principles laid down in the decisions of the Constituent Assembly.

This means joint electorates, reservation where desired by the minority, but on the basis of population only and no weightage.

Regarding the carving out of a new province or transfer of Gurgaon district to Delhi, you know that I have been opposing in recent months suggestions for provincial redistribution or division. Not that I am opposed to this, for I believe that something of this kind will have to be done. But I am opposed to provinces being dismembered at this particular time when we are grappling with a number of very difficult problems. Any division of a province is bound to give rise to deep passion and will thus come in the way of all our work. Let this matter be considered dispassionately somewhat later. The Punjab, as you remind us, is a frontier province now and because of that a large number of other considerations have to be borne in mind. We cannot allow the situation in the East Punjab to deteriorate, as unfortunately it has done recently. Nor will it be desirable to think in terms of communal provinces when refashioning our provincial areas. However, the main point is that this question should not be considered at this stage.

Any untoward development in East Punjab might have serious repercussions on the Kashmir situation. This has to be borne in mind.

As for the formation of constituencies, obviously this must be done with all fairness. But any attempt made to gerrymander in favour of this or that group would probably be against the provisions of the new Constitution and would also lead to bitterness and conflict.

I know fully well that there is a great deal of Sikh feeling behind some of these demands. I would very much like to do something to convince the Sikhs that their fears are groundless. Indeed I do not myself see why a progressive and enterprising community like the Sikhs should be afraid of the future. But in any event it would be doing an ill-turn to the Sikhs to treat them as the Muslim League wanted the Muslims to be treated before the partition.

What I have been specially distressed is the strange similarity between

the present demands of some of the Sikh leaders and the old Muslim League demands. That is a bad omen. Can we not learn from bitter experience?

You have, I think, rightly complained of some articles and cartoons in the Delhi papers.³ But whatever these papers may have written, it pales into insignificance before the speeches and statements of Master Tara Singh. The type of speeches he has been delivering has been so extraordinarily irresponsible that I just cannot make out how any person with a grain of responsibility can do it.

I have repeatedly drawn the attention of the East Punjab Government to this open incitement by Master Tara Singh to war⁴ and to internal conflict.⁵ He has used threats also. Those threats should not divert us from our desire to remove legitimate Sikh grievances. But, to be quite frank with you, Master Tara Singh's activities have upset me a great deal. I should like to meet you to discuss these various matters with you.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

3. Baldev Singh wrote that a section of the press in East Punjab and Delhi had indulged in scurrilous attacks on the Sikhs.
4. Tara Singh publicly criticised Nehru for contending that war with Pakistan was not inevitable and warned constantly that war with Pakistan was imminent.
5. After the partition of Punjab, Tara Singh opposed the move for the merger of Akalis with the Congress and the Sikh states with East Punjab. He confused matters by speaking with two voices on the question of weightage and reservation for the Sikhs and urged the Government to allow the Muslims to go to Pakistan and allot their houses and lands to the refugees.

6. To C.M. Trivedi¹

New Delhi
November 29, 1948

My dear Trivedi,

I have been receiving reports about the state of affairs in East Punjab², and more specially in Hoshiarpur, Gurdaspur, Ferozepur and Ludhiana districts, which are very disturbing. I shall be grateful to you if you could let me know what you think of the present position there. These reports

1. J.N. Collection.
2. Though the outstanding communal problems of East Punjab were under the consideration of the provincial government and East Punjab Assembly Congress Party, efforts at creating a cleavage between Hindus and Sikhs continued.

have come from a variety of independent sources and they all point to a progressive deterioration and even to the growth, to some extent, of gangsterism. Hindu-Sikh relations appear to be very bad and Master Tara Singh is misbehaving as ever.

A group of Hindu refugees fled from a camp in Ferozepur to Kurukshetra. They state that in these camps in Ferozepur terroristic activities are beginning and women are not safe. A report from Kurukshetra camp is also very disturbing. Conditions there are bad, indeed very bad. Mortality has arisen and frustration, destitution and starvation are evident everywhere. Medical arrangements are lacking and even water is not available in sufficient quantity. The reports I have received are long. I am only giving a brief account of them.

I have referred to the Hindu-Sikh position in the Punjab. It is clear that matters are going to a head. It is equally clear that the demands put forward by Master Tara Singh and company are completely unacceptable by us.³ They are wrong in principle and would upset the whole approach to our Constitution. In practice they would create enormous difficulties all over India, for if a wrong principle is accepted in one place, it will be difficult to avoid giving effect to it elsewhere.

One aspect of the East Punjab problem is worth bearing in mind. This relates to Kashmir. Every untoward happening in East Punjab reacts on Kashmir. If by any chance (there is no chance) East Punjab or part of it was made into what is called a Sikh province, Kashmir would go from us for a Sikh province between the rest of India and Kashmir would be a sufficient barrier between us. Sikhs unfortunately are not popular with the Muslims at present. If there is a belt between Kashmir and the rest of India composed of Sikhs, this will lead to a cutting off of Kashmir from India.

But the other reasons are strong enough for our not accepting Tara Singh and company's proposals. For my part the attitude of Master Tara Singh and some of his colleagues is sufficient for us to be wary of making concessions from a general rule.

The Governor General is interested in and exercised about the work that is being done in the rehabilitation of Muslims in Gurgaon, Alwar and Bharatpur as well as in Buria. This is important work to which Gandhiji himself attached great importance. Unfortunately, the East Punjab Govern-

3. On 15 November 1948, Tara Singh said, "I will concede without hesitation equal representation to the Hindus and the Sikhs in the provincial legislature and the Cabinet...All Sikhs are unanimously supporting the demand for Punjabi in Gurmukhi script as being the court language and the medium of instruction". He added, "It is very ominous, the campaign against the Sikhs started by the Hindu leaders of the East Punjab and fanned by the Hindu press is very unfortunate....I am opposed to joint electorates on account of this hostile attitude of the Punjabi Hindus".

ment has not done much or nothing at all about this and, when Rajaji expressed a wish to send some United Council of Relief workers there, the response of the East Punjab Government was not enthusiastic. I think the East Punjab Government should pay particular attention to this problem in Gurgaon and other similar places in the province. What surprises me is that they do not welcome any outsider to come in and help them.

I am sending a copy of this letter to Dr. Gopichand Bhargava.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

7. The Challenge of the R.S.S.¹

For sometime past intelligence reports have stated that large scale arrangements are being made by the R.S.S. to challenge the authority of Government by satyagraha and other means.² Information confirming this has also been received from many private sources in Delhi and elsewhere in India. I have no doubt that the Home Ministry is alive to this development and has taken adequate measures to meet any situation that may arise.

2. Whatever steps we may have to take will necessarily have to be on an all-India scale. They have to be coordinated and all preliminary preparations made. It is stated that R.S.S. action might take place at the time when the Congress sessions are taking place in Jaipur and when a large number of Congress leaders and Ministers from all over India are conglomerated at Jaipur. It is hoped that absence of Ministers would delay governmental action.

3. All this has to be provided for so that immediate steps might be taken. On the last occasion when the R.S.S. was declared illegal, there had been no previous preparation or sufficient intimation. The result was that provincial governments had no time to prepare and the public announcement through the radio was made just about the time when our instructions rea-

1. Note to the Home Ministry, 5 December 1948. J. N. Collection.
2. The R.S.S. had announced on 9 December 1948 that it would start satyagraha at several centres in India. The Government of India, and some provincial governments took strong action against the R.S.S. which had been banned after Mahatma Gandhi's assassination. A large number of R.S.S. members were arrested in Maharashtra, U.P., Gujarat, Delhi, Bihar, Mysore, Punjab, Bengal and Madras.

ched provincial governments. Care might be taken to avoid a repetition of this.

4. In order to meet any widespread movement, it is necessary to arrest and intern the leaders and prominent workers of the movement in good time. It must be remembered that satyagraha is just a word which the R.S.S. use. They have no conception of what satyagraha means and no intention of following the spirit of satyagraha conceived by Mahatma Gandhi or the Congress. It is in fact a mere cloak for other activities. R.S.S. is essentially a body which functions secretly. What it does or says in public has no relation to what it carries on in secret. Therefore an open satyagraha movement will only be a cloak for other activities which may be very dangerous.

5. Probably, and indeed it is stated, that a number of prominent R.S.S. leaders will go underground long before the satyagraha starts. That is not the way of satyagraha. It means that the underground people will work for other ends while public attention is diverted by the satyagraha.

6. For all these reasons it appears necessary that every possible step may be taken now and every arrangement made to meet any challenge to Government on behalf of the R.S.S. Provincial governments should keep in readiness, should know exactly who to deal with and who to arrest and intern, and should have a certain latitude to take necessary action.

7. The situation in Delhi requires particular care, not only because Delhi is the capital but also because it is a centre for such activities. I met the Chief Commissioner of Delhi today and discussed the situation with him. He made it clear to me that if any effective action is to be taken on our behalf, it must be well prepared and well timed. It must not wait till other events happen and then function ineffectively and defensively. I suggest that the Home Ministry confer with the Chief Commissioner of Delhi and issue instructions to provincial governments as soon as possible.

much more basic and intricate problems. No Government, knowing all the facts, could undertake this grave responsibility at this stage.

As for cutting of some districts from East Punjab, that would lead to making a small province even smaller. This is not a basic objection, but in the present context as I have stated above, it would be a grave risk to take, apart from other reasons which I need not go into.

You have quoted something that I had said two and a half years ago.* You will appreciate that many things have happened during that two and a half years including the partition and all its fatal consequences. It was one thing to have a Sikh autonomous area in an undivided Punjab. It is a different thing to split small areas now and make them weaker in many ways. It may be that in the future the problem of provincial redistribution might be considered fully in all its aspects. But the time does not appear to be yet. This of course does not and cannot mean that the Sikhs should not have every facility and opportunity for their cultural freedom and growth.

If the so-called Sikh backward classes want to be treated together with the scheduled castes, presumably that will mean a reduction in the Sikh population from the point of view of voting and reservation. The matter might be considered on that basis, for I feel any such thing would not be good for the Sikh or for those Sikh backward classes. Instead of raising the latter up, we would to some extent push them down.

There is reference in your letter repeatedly to Kashmir and Bikaner. So far as Kashmir is concerned, circumstances are such that the future constitution of the State will be determined by the people of Kashmir. We are going to impose nothing on them. I have no doubt that the present Government of Kashmir will continue to pay full attention to the position of the Sikhs.

In regard to the other matters that you have mentioned, I do not wish to say anything much now and it is for the Constituent Assembly to consider them. Some may be capable of adjustment, but with several of them I do not agree. My test in each case would be how far it encourages communalism and separatism.

You say something about the nationals of India being recruited to the armed forces. Of course, the armed forces of a country can only contain nationals and none others. In fact any person joining the armed forces automatically becomes a national in some countries. I am also all in favour of merit being the criterion.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

2. See *Selected Works* (first series). Vol. 15, pp. 257-259 and 280-281.

9. To Gopichand Bhargava¹

New Delhi

December 8, 1948

My dear Gopichandji,

Thank you for your letter of December 5th. I am enclosing a copy of the reply I have sent to Giani Kartar Singh.²

Your reference to the Congress being committed not to agree to a settlement which did not satisfy the minorities is rather strange. Thousands of developments have taken place since the Lahore Congress Session was held, among them being the cutting up of India and major upheavals. It does little good to refer to a Congress resolution passed 17 years ago.³

The basic position of both the Congress and the Government today is as I have stated it in my letter to Giani Kartar Singh. The other matters should be considered in the light of that basic position.

I have written to you repeatedly about Master Tara Singh and his activities. So far as I know, your Government has not taken any step whatever in this matter and has not even spoken or written to Master Tara Singh. This seems to me very extraordinary and I have little doubt that it is this weakness and laxity of the East Punjab Government that has led to the deterioration of the situation. Indeed to a person who reads or listens to Master Tara Singh's speeches, the question arises whether the East Punjab Government rules or not.

I have received information that the Deputy Commissioner of Hoshiarpur is totally unsuited to hold any position of responsibility.⁴ I further learn that Master Tara Singh has threatened to do all manner of things if that Deputy Commissioner is transferred. This is a most extraordinary position.

I take it that the Minorities Committee of the Constituent Assembly will meet fairly soon and consider all minority claims.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. J.N. Papers, N.M.M.L.

2. See the preceding item.

3. The resolution on communal question adopted by the Lahore Congress (29-31 December 1929) said, "...this Congress assures the Sikhs, the Muslims and other minorities that no solution thereof in any future constitution will be acceptable to the Congress that does not give full satisfaction to the parties concerned".

4. Some prominent Congressmen of Hoshiarpur were arrested under the Public Safety Act by the Deputy Commissioner. The General Secretary of the District Socialist Party was twice arrested on trumped up charges in March and June 1948. On a *habeas corpus* petition the East Punjab High Court set him free on 15 November 1948. For censuring indiscriminate arrest of Congressmen the editor of *Hind Samachar*, Lala Jagat Narain was arrested. Following his refusal to execute a personal indemnity bond, the East Punjab Government released him unconditionally.

8. To Kartar Singh¹

New Delhi
8 December 1948

My dear Gianiji,

I am sorry for the delay in answering your letter of November 26th enclosing a memorandum of Sikh demands.

May I say right at the beginning that the time is long passed when any "demand" should be put forward on behalf of a religious community. This savours of far too much of the communal outlook for my liking. Suggestions and proposals might be put forward.

Before I consider any of your points, I should further like to say that such consideration is made very difficult by the attitude taken up by Master Tara Singh. What he may say in private, I do not know, or at any rate I need not attach importance to it. But what he says in his speeches is public property. I have seldom come across more irresponsible and amazing speeches than those delivered by Master Tara Singh. So far as he is concerned, the result of his speeches is to put him completely out of court. No Government can deal with anyone who speaks and acts in this manner. We have shown an astonishing degree of latitude to Master Tara Singh because of our earnest desire not to do anything to make more difficult an already difficult situation. The Sikhs have been our colleagues and our comrades in both our successes and our failures. They have suffered in common with others for the cause of India's freedom, and they are justified, as others are, to expect and claim the same rights, privileges, responsibilities and obligations which others may have. Because of the extreme upset that they have suffered during the past year and a half, we have felt that they should be treated with all gentleness, courtesy and even generosity. Fortunately they are a brave, enterprising and virile community. That is the guarantee, more than any other, that they will continue to play a prominent part in India's future.

It is because of this that we have refrained from doing anything which might be interpreted as a gesture of ill will against the Sikhs. We have no ill will at all and indeed we have a great deal of goodwill. You know that during the past fifteen months or so, the Sikhs have been criticised and condemned in foreign countries. They have been made responsible in the foreign press, notably in the United Kingdom and the U.S.A., for most of the ills that have followed partition. That was not a true charge and we have combated it as far as we could. During my recent visit to Europe, I was surprised to find the general opinion held about what the Sikhs did after the partition. I tried to meet it and counter it.

1. J.N. Papers, N.M.M.L.

All this has to be borne in mind. However exaggerated the views held by some people, they have been encouraged in holding them because of the attitude of some of the Sikh leaders, notably Master Tara Singh. It has been the misfortune of the Sikhs during the past several years to have had a wrong lead given to them, or no lead at all, and the consequences have been most unfortunate so far as the Sikhs are concerned. I am distressed that in spite of this past experience that wrong lead continues and brings discredit to the good name of the Sikhs. None of us, however big we may be, can ignore world opinion. That world opinion is at present very definitely against the Sikhs not for any particular fault of theirs but because of Master Tara Singh and some others, whose activities bring discredit on that good name. Master Tara Singh has been speaking and acting in a manner which brings to mind all that the Muslim League leaders did before the partition. We have seen the consequences of that. Yet wisdom has not come and if any one of us follows the same wrong path, the consequences must necessarily be bad.

We can consider dispassionately the case of any group or community and endeavour to give justice to it, though even that justice becomes tainted if threats and wild language claim it. But the problem today is not primarily of patching up some kind of a settlement, though that is desirable but of dealing with an astonishingly virulent campaign. I know well that this virulence is not confined to one side. There has been enough of it in the press of both sides and possibly in other activities also. At the same time I have regretfully come to the conclusion that the chief responsibility must rest with Master Tara Singh and all those who support him.

In considering any proposals some basic facts have to be borne in mind. We as a Government and as Congress and in our individual capacities, are completely committed not to encourage communalism. We are committed to the ending of separate electorates. We are committed to no weightage being granted to any group or community. We do not like reservation of seats, but we have agreed that there might be reservation, if a minority community so desires, provided that reservation is on a population basis.

It is with these basic factors before us that we should consider any question. It is no good at all to ignore these basic factors because they are not going to change.

The question of forming a separate province or of cutting away a part of East Punjab is in a different category. Perhaps you have seen my views about raising such a question at this stage, however desirable it might be on the merits. But apart from these general considerations, East Punjab happens to be a frontier province and a province which connects Kashmir with the rest of India. In these circumstances and at this stage it would be a mistake of the first magnitude to start linguistic distributions at this critical moment. It would affect not only our struggle in Kashmir but also

10. The Shrine of Qutub Shah¹

There is a Muslim shrine of great importance at Mehrauli near Delhi called the Shrine of Qutub Shah.² During the last disturbances in September this was attacked by a mob and considerable damage had been done to it; more especially marble screens and railings were broken. Gandhiji took particular interest in this old shrine and visited it and expressed his opinion publicly that Government must repair this damage.³ I visited the shrine also and gave the same assurance. Nothing has been done so far. Although this is a relatively small matter and there would appear to be no urgency, nevertheless it creates ill-feeling and our reputation suffers. In two or three months time there is some kind of *Urs* or fair there and many people will gather there from outside. It is desirable therefore that the work of repairing the screens and railings and more especially the marble screens should be undertaken soon. Even though it might take time to complete, the fact of starting it soon is important.

I suppose this is the work of the P.W.D. who will have to engage some craftsmen and secure marble. Please ask them to undertake this as soon as possible, though the work may proceed relatively slowly.

1. Note to the Principal Private Secretary, 13 December 1948. J.N. Collection.
2. Khwaja Qutub-ud-Din Bakhtiar Kaki was a Sufi saint of Chishtia order and was a contemporary of Iltutmish.
3. Mahatma Gandhi visited the shrine at Mehrauli on 27 January 1948 and addressed a gathering.

11. To C.M. Trivedi¹

New Delhi
December 14, 1948

My dear Trivedi,

I spoke to you about Buria when you came here. We have had a good and detailed report about Buria now.² There are two points in this specially to which I should like to draw your attention.

1. J.N. Collection. Extracts.
2. The main problem in the Buria area was of restoration of confidence of about 12,000 displaced Muslims who were ill-treated by the previous civil authorities. There was also lack of cooperation between the civil officials, the army officers and the social workers. Loans for food and repairs of houses were granted till the release of 13,414 acres of land in May 1949.

(i) I understand that twenty Muslim mosques at Buria are still occupied by non-Muslims. The Deputy Commissioner has been requested to release these.

(ii) I am told that two officials³ in Ambala have come in the way of the approach that we wish to make in Buria and elsewhere... I am informed that if these two officials could be transferred from the district, there would be a rapid improvement in the situation in the Buria area. I gather that Randhawa⁴ the D.C., is more or less of this opinion also, though I am not quite sure.

I hope you will kindly look into this matter. I am not writing to your Premier⁵ as the East Punjab Government is sensitive about such matters and I would rather leave it to you to tackle him on this subject.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

3. Police Superintendent, Ambala and Ilaqa Magistrate, Jagadhri.

4. Mohinder Singh Randhawa.

5. Gopichand Bhargava.

12. The Victims of Partition¹

This Congress records its deep sorrow at the death, by internecine conflict, of vast numbers of the people of this country, belonging to every religion during the disturbances that followed the partition. The Congress extends its heartfelt sympathy to all their relatives and to all the refugees who have suffered untold misery and have become homeless and without refuge. While appreciating the work that the Central and Provincial Governments have done to give relief to and rehabilitate these refugees, the Congress trusts that every effort will be made to expedite this work, and more particularly that children and young people will be specially cared for and given opportunities of education and development.

1. Resolution drafted by Nehru and passed at the Jaipur Congress on 19 December 1948. J.N. Collection.

13. The Evil of Communalism¹

Ever since its inception, the National Congress has conceived and striven for a united nation where the people of all religions and races should have equal rights and opportunities and should function together as citizens of India. It has opposed communalism and separatism which weaken the nation and come in the way of all progress and cooperative effort. Keeping this ideal in view, it has nevertheless, by stress of circumstances, and by the pressure of the dominating power at the time, accepted certain compromises which introduced an element of communalism in the public of the country. In spite of the efforts of the Congress, communal forces, exploiting the name of religion, grew in strength and resulted not only in the partition of the country, but also in the foul assassination of Mahatma Gandhi.

The terrible experiences through which the country has passed have demonstrated the evil that communalism brings in its train and have shown that the freedom of the nation, as well as of every component part of it, is imperilled by these communal and separatist tendencies. In order, therefore, to preserve the hard-won freedom of the country and for the nation to grow and prosper and enjoy the fruits of this freedom, it has become essential to put an end to the spirit of communalism which has already caused so much grievous injury.

The long past of India is evidence of the spirit of tolerance which was the basis of life and culture in this country. India has been and is a land of many religions and many races and must remain so. The freedom of India can only be based on a recognition of this richly varied life bound together by an overriding unity, and by full opportunities being given to every section of the people for professing and practising their religion and culture. The aim of the Congress has therefore been to develop this great country as a democratic secular State which neither favours nor discriminates against any particular religion.

This Congress reiterates this objective of the Congress and declares its firm resolve not to promote communalism or the misuse of religion as a political weapon for anti-national and socially reactionary purposes. The Congress calls upon the country to make a supreme effort to restore goodwill, peace and harmony among the various communities that form the nation.

1. Resolution drafted by Nehru and passed at the Jaipur Congress on 19 December 1948. J.N. Collection.

It is for this that Mahatma Gandhi laboured throughout his life and it was for this that he ultimately sacrificed his precious life. To every Indian, and more particularly to every Congressman, he has left this great legacy and example.

In order to achieve this great end, the Congress must set its own house in order and Congressmen and women must purify the organisation even at the risk of shrinkage of the number of members. Every worker of the Congress should exercise introspection and in his own personal life as well as in his corporate life, endeavour to maintain the standard which Gandhiji had set before the country.

5

REHABILITATION OF REFUGEES

1. To C. Rajagopalachari¹

Paris

26 October 1948

My dear Rajaji,

...The Mountbattens left for Malta this morning. I invited on your behalf and my own Edwina to visit us in India during the cold weather, some time in January next.² This visit would primarily be in connection with the work of the United Council for Relief³ with which she has been intimately connected. I suggested to her that she should spend at least six weeks, if not more, in India. She will have to tour about a little to inspect the various centres of relief.

She would like to come to India but it would be a good thing if you could yourself write to her and invite her both as Governor General and as head of the United Council for Relief. I hope you will do so. Her address is Malta, but a fuller address is as follows :

Villa Guardamanqia,

Pieta, Malta (G.C.)

So far as I can remember, there has been no meeting of the United Council for Relief since you assumed charge of it. Would it not be desirable for a meeting to be convened to review the situation and consider future policy? I should like this to be done some time after my return...

Yours,

Jawaharlal

1. File No. 29(67) 48-PMS. Extracts.

2. Edwina Mountbatten arrived in Delhi on 15 February 1949.

3. The United Council for Relief and Welfare, set up in September 1947, established creches, schools and industrial centres. The Council also provided relief in cash and goods and helped in running refugee camps.

2. To Lady Mountbatten¹

Paris

October 29, 1948

My dear Edwina,

You will remember that I spoke to you about the United Council for Relief and suggested that a visit from you to India during the cold weather would

1. J.N. Papers, N.M.M.L. A copy of this letter was sent to C. Rajagopalachari, the Governor General.

SELECTED WORKS OF JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

be very welcome. I am now writing more officially on this subject as Vice-President of the United Council to invite you to come to India more especially in connection with the work of the United Council. I need hardly say that your visit to India would bring pleasure to a very large number of persons, including the Prime Minister, but it is not from this point of view that I am writing. It is because the United Council would greatly benefit by such a visit and by the guidance you can give to it. This Council is really one of your own children and looks up to you for help, advice and inspiration. It has done very good work but we have still to face a colossal problem and we should like to extend the activities of the Council. If you could come to India, sometime early next year, you could not only visit some of the main centres of activity but also meet at general meeting and otherwise members of the Council and find out from them what their problems and difficulties were.

When I was in India, the Governor General, who is also the President of the United Council, charged me to convey this message to you and to invite you. I am sure he will convey the invitation to you directly himself. Meanwhile, may I also, as a mere Vice-President of the Council, add my own invitation? We shall look forward greatly to your coming to our country to which you have attached yourself so closely by your interest and work. I trust that your visit will be sufficiently prolonged to enable you to visit various centres of activity of the United Council. India is a large country and it would be a pity if your visit was too short to enable you to deal with the work adequately.

Whenever you may come, and in whatever capacity you may come, you will always be welcome in India. But the people of India have associated you so closely with this particular work, with which you identified yourself, that your visit in this behalf will be doubly welcome.

Yours,
Jawaharlal

3. Cable to V.K. Krishna Menon¹

Your telegram 2167 dated 8th November. Sardar Patel's speech apparently misreported.² There was no threat or reference to all eventualities. He laid emphasis on grave situation arising from continuing influx of Hindus from East Bengal to West Bengal. It must be remembered that there were over 16 million Hindus in East Bengal and if many of them tried to come across, an impossible position would be created. Sardar Patel emphasized that conditions should be created in East Pakistan which would enable Hindus to stay there. He did mention that if large numbers come across, more territory would be needed for them. Some phrases of his were unhappily worded and hence have been misinterpreted.

1. New Delhi, 11 November 1948. J.N. Collection.
2. Patel was reported to have remarked at a public meeting in Nagpur on 4 November that if Pakistan was determined to drive away the Hindus from East Bengal, she must agree to give India sufficient land to rehabilitate them. On 8 November, Nurul Amin, Premier of East Bengal, observed that this speech suggested the possibility of an armed conflict between the two dominions and if it implied "aggressive designs" by India on Pakistan, the latter would "take up the challenge".

4. Cable to Sri Prakasa¹

Your telegram 1312 dated 11th November. Sardar Patel's speech misinterpreted. There is no question of any threat and certainly not of any military action. He emphasised the grave problem caused by continued large-scale migration of Hindus from East Bengal. This migration opposed by us and by West Bengal Government. It is undoubtedly caused by oppressive treatment of Hindus in East Bengal as well as deteriorating economic conditions there. Some of our best workers for instance Pyarelal are being harassed and proceeded against for fantastic offences. All this is creating a very grave situation for us. We realise however that the only effective solution of it is by a joint effort between India and Pakistan. Unfortunately what Pakistan Government says is not reflected in local policy in East Bengal. I hope that Liaquat Ali's visit to East Bengal will help to ease the situation.

1. New Delhi, 13 November 1948. File No. 9-10/48-Pak I, M.E.A. & C.R., N.A.I.

5. Functioning of the Relief and Rehabilitation Ministry¹

I have read the papers in this file with considerable surprise. More than a month and a half ago the Cabinet came to a decision in regard to the winding up of the Relief and Rehabilitation Board and the merging of its work in the Relief and Rehabilitation Ministry. On my return to India I find that the matter is still under discussion and long notes have been written as to the procedure to be followed, as to whether the Selection Board comes in and what the status of Mehr Chand Khanna should be. This is all very interesting. But it also indicates that there is a greater passion for writing notes in the Secretariat than for getting things done, even when the Cabinet so decides.

2. The Relief and Rehabilitation Ministry was formed to meet a grave crisis and was meant to function with speed and a subsequent development of this was the Development and Rehabilitation Board, which was meant to be autonomous so as not to get tied up in official red-tape and routine. Unfortunately the power of red-tape was too great and the Relief and Rehabilitation Ministry partly succumbed to it and the Development and Rehabilitation Board could never function with any speed or independence.

3. The latest example of how even urgent matters can be held up is the present case. It is clear that the approach to problems is not one of getting anything done quickly but of who should be appointed, how he should be appointed, when he should be appointed and what salary he should draw, etc., etc. In any permanent service all these questions are important and therefore rules are framed for the purpose. But all rules and even the services are means to an end, and the end is that work should be done. If work suffers, then the rules are wrong and the service is not functioning properly and something should be done about it.

4. Another point seems to me deserving of consideration. The Cabinet no doubt should follow the rules it has itself framed, but the Cabinet is the supreme body subject only to the legislature and in certain exceptional cases possibly the courts of law. It is extraordinary that a cabinet decision should be challenged and criticised and commented upon by a variety of secretaries of varied grades, and ultimately that it should even be varied. That is a matter which requires the most careful consideration. For no Cabinet can function if its will is flouted in this way by its subordinate officers.

5. In the present instance the Cabinet considered this matter at great length. The question before us was how to make the work of the Relief and

1. Note, 14 November 1948. File No. 29(108)/48-PMS.

Rehabilitation Ministry and the Development Board more effective and concise; how to prevent overlapping and delay; how to reduce unnecessary expenditure. Instead of adding to posts it was one of reduction of posts and thereby of expenditure, although the nomenclature might have been varied here and there. In fact the expenditure was lessened and several posts in the Development Board were done away with. Therefore it was not a matter of additional financial sanction for a new post. It was merely a conversion of several posts into one or two. It was not a question of giving this salary or that salary to any individual but of giving a certain status which would enable him to function effectively, without restrictions and delays, and without going through the extraordinary procedure that the Secretariat has evolved: a system of numerous notings by numerous secretaries. A man was chosen for this work who is of outstanding experiences and ability and specially fitted for this task. He was not a member of any service. He was not being rewarded or presented with a job, but at the earnest request of the Prime Minister, he was asked to undertake a burden and a responsibility.

6. Another man Dr. Dey,² who was previously functioning as a member of the Development Board, was given another status and a field of responsibility. As a matter of fact he has been working in an honorary capacity and will continue to do so. He has done remarkable work already and his services are valued by the Cabinet. It would be absurd for him to be tied up in the normal official routine which would interfere seriously with the value of his work.

7. All this has apparently been considered from some entirely different point of view of service, promotions, etc. The Selection Board was meant to see that proper choices were made from the Service personnel both in regard to efficiency and seniority and that there should be no unfairness or nepotism about any appointments with which it was concerned. That Board has little scope to exercise its special knowledge of the Services when an outsider is specially chosen. In any event the Selection Board cannot sit in judgement over the decisions of the Cabinet.

8. The Public Service Commission does not come into this picture at all as Mr. Mehr Chand Khanna's appointment is a temporary one. Indeed the whole Relief and Rehabilitation Ministry is temporary. There is no question of changing Mr. Mehr Chand Khanna's designation to that of Rehabilitation Adviser. The Cabinet's decision should be given effect to.

9. In regard to Dr. Dey also, the first proposal made about him should be given effect to and he should be given the status proposed then. As he is an honorary worker, no question of sanction arises.

10. It should be noted that these posts of Mr. Mehr Chand Khanna and Dr. Dey are in a sense personal to them. Thus no new posts are being created which have to be kept going in future.

2. S.K. Dey.

6. Repair of Refugee Barracks in Anand Parbat¹

Some eight months ago I visited the Anand Parbat² and saw the barracks there. I found that urgent repairs were needed if they were to be used for refugees. I suggested that these repairs be carried out.

About three months ago or more I had a deputation from the refugees living in the upper barracks, who pointed out that nothing had been done and that they were in a very bad plight owing to the rains. I promised to look into this immediately and to get the necessary repairs done as rapidly as possible. I took immediate steps and I believe this matter was considered at a meeting where representatives of the Ministries concerned were present. It was decided that repairs should be taken in hand forthwith.³

Yesterday I had another visit from Anand Parbat people and they complained that nothing had been done. Today I sent one of my secretaries to visit the place. He reports that he found the upper barracks in Anand Parbat in exactly the same condition as he had seen them three months ago. Their condition is a dilapidated one. There are broken roofs and in some of the barracks the roofs are practically absent. Windows and sometimes even the so-called doors are just open spaces with nothing to prevent rain or cold wind from coming in. He reports that many people were lying ill and as the winter is fast approaching, the people living there are not only suffering now but are apprehensive of their future plight. They are in a very bad mood at what they considered repeated breaches of faith on the part of the government.

On receiving this report I was not only surprised but greatly distressed. The case itself was bad enough, but what was worse, it became a symbol of the way we are dealing with urgent problems of relief and rehabilitation. I am not surprised that people should criticise us severely, when our own record is so bad. I do not know how I can possibly justify it.

Apart from the humanitarian and governmental aspect involved, my own honour and the Government's reputation are at stake. I gave my word and gave the Government's assurance that something would be done immediately. Both my word and this assurance have been set at naught. No government can have any reputation left at all if this kind of thing is done.

1. Note to the Principal Private Secretary, 17 November 1948. J.N. Collection.

2. A locality in Delhi.

3. Mohanlal Saksena wrote on 18 November 1948 that the delay was caused partly because he had advised that before undertaking repairs on a permanent basis, a longer period of lease should be obtained.

REHABILITATION OF REFUGEES

I do not know who is responsible for this gross neglect. Whoever may be the individual responsible, ultimately the responsibility is that of the Government and we cannot shift it to anyone else. The matter is of the most serious consequence from every point of view.

Two questions arise: (1) What should be done immediately to give effect to the assurance previously given.

(2) Who is responsible for this grave and astonishing delay in carrying out an important task.

If it is said that rules and procedures come in the way, then, the sooner these rules and procedures are changed, the better.

I attach the greatest importance to this matter and I should like the other Ministries concerned to do likewise. I suggest therefore that a small conference be held to consider this question with a view to immediate action. This conference should be held on Friday, 19th November at 11 a.m. in my room No. 10, Council House. Representatives of Ministries concerned as well as any others who may be connected with this business, should be asked to attend this conference. There should be representatives of Works, Mines and Power, Finance and Relief and Rehabilitation Ministries. P.P. S.⁴ and Shri Dharma Vira should also attend. Any other persons concerned should also be invited.

P.P.S. will kindly arrange this conference and send copies of this note to three Ministries referred to above.

4. A.V. Pai.

7. To Vallabhbhai Patel¹

New Delhi
November 17, 1948

My dear Vallabhbhai,

Thank you for your letter of the 17th November about Mehr Chand Khanna and Dr. Dey.²

I might mention that it was not Mohanlal Saksena who spoke to me about the subject. I heard about it from two or three other persons and then I sent for Mehr Chand Khanna and spoke to him. Mohanlal Saksena was not in Delhi then. On his return I sent for him and he gave me his version which largely consisted of this that something happened without his

1. J.N. Collection. A copy of this letter was sent to Mohanlal Saksena.

2. S.K. Dey.

knowledge. He had tried to see you, but you were out of Delhi and he could not contact you.

You will remember that I spoke to you about Mehr Chand Khanna one day and you told me, or I gathered such from what you told me, that you did not know much about it. I came to the conclusion that the matter had been dealt without any special reference to you, although you might perhaps have initialled some note or order.

It seems to me totally immaterial what the designations or status Mehr Chand Khanna or Dr. Dey might have, provided always that they have full opportunity to do their work. I have been following closely their work in the Relief Ministry or in the Development Board for the last many months, and on some occasions this matter had been considered by the Cabinet. It seemed to me, and this certainly has been the opinion of Mehr Chand Khanna, that he has not had that opportunity and that routine procedures involving numerous secretaries come in the way of anything being done effectively or rapidly. The whole purpose of appointing the Rehabilitation and Development Board was to avoid these routine procedures and take quick decisions and quick implementation of them. That attempt was a failure because the machine was stronger than any decisions we had made. At last we wound up the Board and came to decisions in the Cabinet, according to which Mehr Chand Khanna was appointed Additional Secretary. I agree with you that this was hardly suited to his experience and status. But I was given to understand that he would have a certain freedom to deal with a number of subjects under the wing to be under his charge. All I was interested in was that work should be done.

On my return I find not only that there have been delays but that the machine comes in the way all the time for some reason or other. It may be no individual's fault, but there is something wrong when so much time and energy is spent not in work but in discussing how to work and sometimes in obstructing work.

Mehr Chand Khanna has not had a fair deal and has had little chance of doing things himself. He just gets entangled in secretaries, joint secretaries, deputy secretaries, and the like, not to mention financial advisers, who write long notes and frequently summon him for this thing or that. If we had to carry on a war in this way we would lose it with extreme rapidity. No urgent work can be done in this way and we look upon relief work as urgent work.

Dey had a great deal of freedom in the Development Board and did extraordinary good work. I might mention that Dey had not seen me at all and I do not know whether he has any complaint or not. I read about him in a file that Mohanlal Saksena sent me at my request and I was astonished to note the approach of some of the secretaries to Dey's position. This whole approach both regarding Mehr Chand Khanna and Dey was of pro-

viding people with jobs which they were after and not of how work is to be done.

I do not mind what arrangement is made, but I am terribly anxious about the work. My experience of the past year has shown me the merits of our secretarial set up as also its demerits. It can do good work when it chooses but it does not always choose to do so simply because it thinks on different lines. I think something will have to be done to improve this set up.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal

8. Rehabilitation of Refugees¹

The Prime Minister referred to the unsatisfactory progress in the rehabilitation of refugees, on account of which the refugees were getting more and more desperate and Government had been subjected to considerable criticism by the refugees as well as the general public. He added that in order to revive the progress in regard to rehabilitation of refugees and to devise means for accelerating the Government machinery for the purpose, he proposed to call a conference of the principal persons concerned sometime during the following week.²

1. Minutes of a Cabinet meeting, 18 November 1948. File No. 199/CF/48, Cabinet Secretariat Papers.

2. See *post*, item 14.

9. To Mohanlal Saksena¹

New Delhi
November 19, 1948

My dear Mohanlal,

Your letter of the 18th November about refugees from East Bengal.

I am afraid there has been a great deal of muddled thinking on this subject, resulting in wrong decisions. I have already sent a telegram to Dr. Roy telling him with emphasis the attitude, in my opinion, we should adopt.

1. File No. 29(96)/48-PMS.

It is clear that the continuation of this exodus is the most dangerous thing and can bring alarming consequences.² Therefore everything should be done to stop it. It is true that a very great deal depends upon the attitude of Pakistan. But something depends also upon our attitude. I do not think our attitude has been correct in this matter and the kind of publicity we have made can only result in encouraging the exodus.

(2) The exodus ultimately depends upon the relations of India with Pakistan. We should try to improve these relations, or at any rate, not say anything on our part which worsens them. We should be firm in our attitude where any of our rights is challenged, but at the same time we must not think in terms of retaliation which makes matters worse.

(3) It is completely wrong for us to talk about the two alternatives mentioned in the report of the informal meeting of 22nd October, that is, an exchange of populations between the two parts of Bengal, or transfer of territory. Both are not feasible or practicable without a major war. Mentioning either of them would certainly lead to an acceleration of the migration, thus worsening the situation.

(4) We have to help in relief and rehabilitation of refugees from East Bengal in the same way as any other refugees, but it must always be remembered that in the one case the actual migration was over and in the other it is continuing and has to be stopped. Therefore, even in helping them we should do nothing to encourage the migration or induce other people to come over. This means that as little publicity as possible should be given to our help either by the Government of India or the West Bengal Government, although both Governments would in fact try to give the necessary help.

(5) No dates should be fixed or announced, though perhaps we may privately work according to some date.

I do not think any further decision is necessary at this stage. It is better to await the next Inter Dominion Conference.³

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

2. According to the official figures of the Government of West Bengal, about 16 lakhs of emigrants had entered the State as on 1 January 1949.

3. See *ante*, page 9.

10. To Amrit Kaur¹

New Delhi
November 21, 1948

My dear Amrit,

Thank you for your letter of the 21st November about housing schemes for refugees.²

I think all of us appreciate the point you have raised. But the question is a highly intricate and difficult one, involving as it does, human beings who cannot easily be pushed about or treated as chattels. We would all like large numbers of these refugees to be sent out of Delhi and we have been working to that end. But unfortunately we have not succeeded to any large extent.

I entirely agree with you about the coordination of various Ministries. The conference you referred to, which was held two or three days ago, was about certain repairs to be affected to the Anand Parbat upper barracks. This had been decided upon many months ago, but to my utter amazement nothing had been done.

We are holding a conference to consider the whole question of refugees on Wednesday, 24th November at 11 in the morning. This will be in my office in the Council House. I hope you will come to it and if you like, you can bring Koenigsberger.

Yours,
Jawaharlal

1. File No. 29(113)/48-PMS.
2. Stressing the need for a definite policy regarding housing schemes for refugees and greater coordination between departments of the Government for achieving the best results, Amrit Kaur suggested the shifting of refugees from the capital city to new townships to be put up in East Punjab. She forwarded to Nehru a note by Koenigsberger on this subject.

11. Telegram to B.C. Roy¹

Received your telegram No. 8586-P dated 19th November.

We are taking up this matter with the Pakistan Government through our High Commissioner in Karachi. We have noted with surprise that your Government has already taken some retaliatory action by stopping

1. New Delhi, 22 November 1948. J.N. Papers, N.M.M.L.

movement of paddy to East Bengal. Would like to point out to you that any such action should not be taken without reference to Central Government and their permission as this involves relations between India and Pakistan . Also when matter is being considered at higher levels any such action likely to complicate issue much more. In the two cases before us if action on both sides persisted in our loss likely to be greater. In any event sudden retaliatory measures without full consideration unwise more specially at this stage. Suggest to you therefore allowing passage of paddy to East Bengal informing them that you are doing this as a temporary measure in hope that restrictions imposed by East Bengal Government will be removed as you do not wish to add to difficulties and conflicts between East and West Bengal.

We have already taken up this matter with Pakistan Government and we must await their reply before provincial governments take any action.

12. To Gopichand Bhargava¹

New Delhi
November 24, 1948

My dear Gopichandji,

I am sorry for the delay in answering your letter of November 5. That letter was a long one and deals with many matters of policy as well as its implementation. I shall not endeavour to deal with all the matters you have touched upon. Your letter is being considered fully and each matter will be separately discussed with you whenever it arises.

I am myself disturbed at the way our refugee problem had been handled not only in East Punjab but in Delhi and elsewhere. At today's meeting of our Cabinet and previously at a conference we had, we have reviewed the whole position and have tried to evolve a slightly different machinery for dealing with this business of rehabilitation. A special Cabinet committee will keep in touch and we shall take the advice of representative refugee leaders constantly.

Quite apart from this particular problem, but related to it is the Sikh position and more especially the activities of Master Tara Singh and his supporters. I am afraid we have dealt with this matter with extraordinary weakness and laxity. In fact we have not dealt with it at all and allowed it to drift. It is perfectly clear that the Government of India cannot submit to or agree with Master Tara Singh's demands. There is nothing to choose between his position vis-a-vis the Sikhs and Mr. Jinnah's old position vis-a-vis the Muslims.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. J.N. Collection.

13. Formation of an Economic Unit¹

The Prime Minister mentioned that for the purpose of adequate treatment of relief and rehabilitation work, proper statistical information was necessary. The Cabinet had already decided to set up a small unit in the Cabinet Secretariat for dealing with economic and statistical problems. In view of the urgency of statistical information relating to relief and rehabilitation problems this unit should start work immediately under Dr. Gyan Chand who should be assisted for this purpose by the staff of the old Development Board. Further details regarding the staff necessary for this unit can be agreed to by discussion between the Prime Minister and the Finance Minister. In preparing statistical material connected with relief and rehabilitation problems, Dr. Gyan Chand should consult the Ministry of Relief and Rehabilitation.²

1. Minutes of a Cabinet meeting, 24 November 1948. File No. 199/CF/48, Cabinet Secretariat Papers.
2. The Cabinet approved Nehru's proposals.

14. The Problem of Rehabilitation of Refugees¹

The Prime Minister generally reviewed the present position regarding relief and rehabilitation of refugees. Though considerable amounts of money had been spent in the past and continue to be spent, the progress made in regard to rehabilitation of refugees had not been equally satisfactory. A suggestion has been made about making a general announcement on behalf of Government accepting Government's liability to rehabilitate the refugees and to provide housing for them. Whilst such a pronouncement would be desirable and would have a temporary good effect, ultimately Government would be judged by the results. Such a pronouncement whilst raising high hopes might also land Government into considerable criticism as the speed

1. Minutes of a meeting in the Prime Minister's Room, Council House, New Delhi, 24 November 1948. File No. 199/CF/48, Cabinet Secretariat Papers.

of rehabilitation would necessarily be slow and the total process will take a number of years. The important thing was to have proper statistics of those to be rehabilitated and to plan in an orderly manner for their rehabilitation.²

2. After discussion it was decided to form a committee for rehabilitation problems, to formulate statistics with the help of the Central Statistical Office, to associate refugees in policy formulation and implementation of schemes, to confer with the Ministers for Refugee and Rehabilitation, Finance and Works, Mines and Power for speedy implementation, to secure cooperation of States, to fix percentage in provincial services for refugees, and to plan new self-sufficient townships.

15. To K.M. Cariappa¹

New Delhi
November 26, 1948

My dear Cariappa,

We took over charge of the refugees round about Jammu some months ago and I believe we have made a good job of it. The state of refugees in Kashmir proper, that is, in Srinagar, is pretty bad. I was wondering if it is possible for us to do anything for them. The Maharani of Kashmir has also approached me on this subject. Could you let me have your views as to what we can do about them.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. J.N. Collection.

16. To Vallabhbhai Patel¹

New Delhi
28 November 1948

My dear Vallabhbhai,

Sri Prakasa has sent us a copy of a letter he has received from Nishtar about an abducted Muslim girl. During the last year or more many attempts had been made to recover this girl, whose whereabouts were more or less known. Lady Mountbatten tried her best. As this girl belongs to a well-known family, her abduction and non-return have created a very bad im-

1. *Sardar Patel's Correspondence 1945-50*, Vol. 7, p. 632.

pression and come in the way of our recovering our girls from the other side. Whenever an attempt has been made, the girl has been transferred to some other house. It is believed the Maharaja of Patiala is connected with this matter.

It would make a difference to our work if we could recover this girl and return her, provided of course she is agreeable to going. How this is to be done at this stage, I do not quite know. But it seems to me the only way is to approach the Maharaja of Patiala direct.² Sending a letter is no good because we will get a denial. Somebody should go and see the Maharaja and put the case fairly and frankly before him and ask for his assistance. Mridula has been connected with this matter for some time and she could perhaps go to the Maharaja, or Amtus Salam can go, or some suitable official of the States Ministry might be sent. But the matter is such that only a very tactful and forceful person can deal with it.³

I shall be grateful if you could suggest what should be done.

Yours,
Jawaharlal

2. Patel replied on 30 November, "Since the matter seems to involve the Maharaja of Patiala personally, it has to be delicately and cautiously handled". He suggested that the matter could be discussed with the Maharaja who was expected in Delhi soon.
3. Patel wrote on 20 December that V.P. Menon met the Maharaja on 18 December and impressed upon him the necessity of restoring the girl. The Maharaja promised to look into the matter and write soon.

17. To Mohanlal Saksena¹

New Delhi
November 29, 1948

My dear Mohanlal,

More than a year ago, Gandhiji began to take interest in the fate of Muslims in Gurgaon, Alwar, Bharatpur and Buria. Somewhat later special workers were sent there to give confidence to the Muslims. Unfortunately the local governments were not interested at all and have done next to nothing. However some work is being carried on on a moderate scale.

I understand that your Ministry is not particularly interested in this work which Vinoba Bhave and some others have been carrying on. I think you should take direct interest and help them financially. The amount

1. File No. 7(51)/48-PMS.

involved is not great. But we owe a special duty to those areas because they have become symbolic from the point of view of our treatment of Muslims in India. Also we cannot forget that Gandhiji charged us to look after these areas.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

18. Assistance in Evacuation of Refugees¹

The operations on which the B.O.A.C. have been engaged for some time on behalf of the Government of India for the transport of refugees across the borders of India and Pakistan concluded today. I am happy to learn from my Ministry of Relief and Rehabilitation that these operations have been conducted smoothly and efficiently and to the entire satisfaction of that Ministry. I would like to convey my appreciation to all the B.O.A.C. officers and men concerned in this work. The task, which they have just concluded, arose out of a very unhappy chapter in the history of India. That chapter is closing and we shall soon be embarking on constructive endeavour. I am quite sure that in this constructive task there is much scope for friendly cooperation between India and the United Kingdom.

1. Message to British Overseas Airways Corporation, 2 December 1948. From *The Hindustan Times*, 3 December 1948.

19. The House of M.A. Ansari¹

I should like you to enquire as to who owns or possesses or uses the late Dr. M.A. Ansari's house, No. 1, Daryaganj. This house has been intimately connected with the national movement and more specially with Gandhiji, who always used to stay there. Most of the leaders have stayed there from time to time and many important conferences and meetings

1. Note to the Principal Private Secretary, 9 December 1948. File No. 2(310)/48-PMS.

have been held there, ever since the early twenties. The house was full of relics of national activities and of Gandhiji. It would be a pity for this house to go into wrong hands and more specially for its many relics, pictures, etc., to be distributed.

After Dr. Ansari's death the house went to his daughter. Two years or more ago, I think, the house was sold to the Urdu Academy (Anjuman Taraqqi-Urdu).² I have an idea that this Anjuman ceased to function here soon after the partition and the troubles in Delhi. Who has occupied the house since then, I do not know.

I should like to have the full facts because it may be worthwhile for Government to acquire the house. Could you please enquire from the Relief Ministry, the Custodian of Evacuee Property³ and the Chief Commissioner⁴ of Delhi? A copy of this note may be sent to them.

2. The Ministry of Relief and Rehabilitation replied on 15 December 1948 that according to the Custodian of Evacuee Property, the house was sold by Zohra Ansari to Raj Krishan Jain in April 1946. Jain had some flats built in the grounds of the house but the main house remained as it was.
3. Uma Shankar Dikshit.
4. Shankar Prasada.

20. Towards Amity between India and Pakistan¹

The recent Inter-Dominion Conference² has gone a long way towards the solution of many outstanding problems and the press and the Congress should recognize the advance that has been made and deal with the psychological problems.

The only right course for those who live in the Indian Dominion is to be loyal to the Indian Dominion and similarly this should apply to the other side, because there is no other way of approach to the problem. The problem of East Bengal is of the gravest importance and has the possibility of becoming a problem of overwhelming importance. The Inter-Dominion Conference will help to lessen its gravity.

1. Speech at the plenary session of the Indian National Congress, Jaipur, 19 December 1948. From *The Hindustan Times*, 20 December 1948 Extracts.
2. See *ante*, p. 9.

This tremendous problem of refugees can only be solved by the cooperation of the Government of India, provincial governments and States Governments and, specially, the Congress and the people at large. The non-official Congressmen must feel their responsibility also and should not adopt merely an attitude of critics.

As for the question of abducted women, I am ashamed of what has been done here. I can be angry with the opponents for what has been done by them but what could I do except to express a deep sense of shame about what has been done on our side? To take up the attitude 'a woman-for-a-woman-return' is only a 'low down' attitude not befitting the country. It is an unwise and not even an opportunist attitude.

It is necessary for all who are interested in these questions, including the question of what is happening in East Bengal and other parts of Pakistan bordering India, to know what exactly these decisions are. It would be a bit of exaggeration for me to say that at the Inter-Dominion Conference all our outstanding problems have been solved. Nevertheless, it is true that this Inter-Dominion Conference has gone a great way towards the solution of many problems. What will happen to the future I cannot say, but it is right that we should recognize the advance that has been made. I would like especially to request the press to realize this for two reasons: firstly, because it is a fact that this Inter-Dominion Conference registered a considerable advance towards the solution of the problems which had agitated and troubled us for a long time.

Secondly, I do not understand the attitude taken up by many either in the Congress or in the press, an attitude of inveterate hostility and inconsolable pessimism. We should not be optimists when there is no room for optimism. Likewise, we should not be pessimists at a time when there is no occasion for it.

Apart from these considerations, the troubles we have to face are tremendous and are of many kinds. There are also the psychological problems we have to face. It is up to each one of us, more especially, those who have the responsibility of writing in the press to deal with the psychological problems which will create temper, hate and anger. It is wrong to lay stress on the evil aspects of problems.

I clearly recall the first resolution passed at the Inter-Dominion Conference in which it was stated that the responsibilities for protecting the lives and property of the minority communities and for ensuring that they receive justice and that their civic rights are fully safeguarded rests on the Government of the Dominion in which the minorities resided. The allegiance and loyalty of the minority is to the State of which they are citizens and it is, therefore, their duty to have their grievances redressed by the Governments of the State. Leaders of each Dominion should make public

declarations to that effect on suitable opportunities, like party meetings and assemblies.

In theory it is possible for individuals or groups of individuals in Pakistan to remain there as citizens of India just as it is possible for individuals or small groups of men to remain as citizens of Pakistan in India although even that at this present critical stage will create enormous difficulties to Governments.³ But when we think of thousands and millions, it is not physically possible. Simply it cannot be done.

The only right course is that those people who live in the Indian Dominion should remain in India to whatever religion they belong. They are expected to be loyal to the Indian Dominion, naturally, as they owe allegiance to India. Similarly, it should apply to the other side. There is no other way of approach to the problem.

The problem of East Bengal is one of the "greatest importance". It has the possibility of becoming a problem of overwhelming importance.

I think all the recent indications are that the problem is lessening in its gravity. To some extent various elements at our command are succeeding and controlling the situation in East Bengal. It has certainly not been completely solved, but I do see a hopeful sign, and this recent Inter-Dominion Agreement will no doubt help the process of healing and of solving the problem. Let us work for it.

It is a terrible nightmare to think of 15 million people from East Bengal marching across the border to India along with their attendant terrible hunger and starvation. We have definitely decided that this shall not happen and we shall create conditions so that it may not happen. It is true that the creation of conditions is largely in the hands of Pakistan because East Bengal is in Pakistan. But the creation of conditions on our side will help to solve the problem and this is the psychological aspect.

The Inter-Dominion Conference decisions are helpful and I have no doubt that the problem will lessen in its gravity. I want people to understand properly the decisions of the Inter-Dominion Conference. Doubts and accusations of disloyalty will not help in a solution of the problem.

The refugee problem is a gigantic one and we have been overwhelmed by it. It can only be solved by the cooperation of all, the Central, provincial and State Governments, especially the Congress and the people at large generally.

Congressmen have now got into the habit of thinking that because they have Governments in the provinces and at the Centre, everything in this regard must be done by them and non-official Congressmen do not feel the responsibility to do anything. A few years ago, all the Congressmen

3. Earlier during the session a speaker had asked if it would not be possible for the people of East Bengal to remain there and yet become citizens of India.

SELECTED WORKS OF JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

would have rushed to do their utmost public service if any such problem arose, but now everyone thinks that the Government must do all the work and the only function of the Congressman is to look on and criticize. It is a wrong attitude and it is not conducive to democracy. I urge Congressmen to help solve the problem.

India has succeeded in getting a large number of abducted Sikh and Hindu women, but still the problem is not solved. It is a problem on both sides. A large number of Hindu and Sikh women were abducted and a large number of Muslim women were abducted on this side. People on either side have been guilty on a scale which staggers me. I am ashamed of what has been done.

Unless the people of both Dominions cooperated with the authorities, effective restoration was not possible. Therefore, we have resorted to the method of cooperation and have succeeded to some extent. I appeal to the people on this side, particularly the States in East Punjab—to my knowledge there are still a large number of abducted women—to send them away I am quite certain if they sent all the abducted women from this side good results will follow from the other side too.

It is the primary duty of all to look after the younger generation of the refugees because it is a rising generation and it will be a cruel thing that this rising generation should have stunted growth.

6

THE LANGUAGE PROBLEM

1. To Masood Husain¹

New Delhi

November 11, 1948

Dear Dr. Husain,

I have your letter.² My own view is that the language we should use should be what is called Hindustani and not difficult Hindi or difficult Urdu. The Devanagari script is bound to be popular, but I see no reason why the Urdu script should be given up. I do not think that the Roman script is likely to be adopted for any official use at this stage, although it has many advantages.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. File No. 33(26)/48-PMS.

2. Masood Husain was willing to give up the Urdu script and accept the Devanagari and Roman scripts for Hindustani.

2. Language in Law Courts of Dhanbad¹

I have seen your letter.² The argument you have put forward in regard to Bengali being abolished as a court language in the Dhanbad sub-division does not appear to me to be a strong one. It is totally immaterial whether the percentage of Bengali-speaking people is over fifty or less than fifty. It is also immaterial how Bengali spread in that area in the past.

The general principles according to which we should proceed in linguistic matters is one of giving every facility that is possible to the people to

1. Note to Chief Secretary, Government of Bihar, 24 November 1948. File No. 7(116) 48-PMS.
2. In a letter of 18 November to A.V. Pai, Principal Private Secretary to Nehru, L.P. Singh, Chief Secretary, Bihar stated that as a corollary to the adoption of Hindi as "State language", it was, by a government order of June 1948, made the "sole court language" in all parts of Bihar except five Bengali-speaking sub-divisions. In Dhanbad, though the 1931 census showed thirty four per cent of the population as Bengali-speaking, the figure was in fact "considerably less" and therefore Hindi had been made the only court language there. Singh added that immigrant Bengali-intelligentsia had imposed their language on the local population and their attitude had not changed as they were still preponderant in Dhanbad courts.

transact their business in their mother tongue. Of course this is not possible for every small group.

While therefore it is right that Bihar should adopt Hindi as the official language of the province, from this it does not follow that other languages are excluded either for purposes of primary education or for court purposes. If there are a large number of Bengalis in Bombay city, it is right and proper that provision should be made by the State for their primary education in Bengali, the provincial language coming in, of course, at a later stage. This would apply to any other well-known language. If every province did this there would be little conflict and a feeling of cooperative effort would grow.

Hindi or Hindustani, whatever its ultimate content may be, being an all-India language, should be taught all over India. But in the primary stage the mother tongue is necessary, provided there are sufficient people who demand special treatment in that respect.

In regard to court language, while the province may have its own court language, in border areas it is quite inevitable that there is a mixture of languages. It would be improper and unwise to try to suppress any language on this side of the border which prevails on the other side. Therefore a certain laxity and generosity should be shown and the secondary prevailing language should be given place as an optional court language. Probably Hindustani or Hindi will become more and more prevalent because of its greater importance, but to try to impose it by suppression of any other well known language will merely create ill-will against Hindi and thus make its spread more difficult.

It should be remembered that Hindi or Hindustani is inevitably going to be the dominant language in India for all-India purposes as well as in certain vast areas. Because of this position it should treat other languages with generosity and courtesy, conscious of its own strength. Any other procedure would, as I have mentioned above, lead to unnecessary conflict and ill-will and therefore injury to Hindi.

The examples given in your letter about Bengali being forced upon the people of Dhanbad have no bearing on this issue now either on grounds of principle or practice.³ It must be remembered that what is done in one province finds its inevitable repercussion and reaction in the other. An attempt to suppress Bengali in certain areas of Bihar would lead to an attempt to suppress Hindi in parts of Bengal. That would be a bad bargain from every point of view. All this business of suppression leads to an intensification of provincialism. As it is, there is some kind of a revolt brewing against Hindi

3. The Chief Secretary, Bihar, had said that Bengali lawyers had been forcing Hindi-speaking plaintiffs and petitioners to submit petitions written in Bengali.

in some parts of India, notably the South and partly elsewhere. A policy of suppression will add to this feeling of rebellion.

I hope that the Bihar Government will reconsider this matter in the light of what I have written above.

2. A copy of the above letter should be sent to the Premier, Bihar,⁴ who is in Delhi.

4. Sri Krishna Sinha.

3. To Haroon K. Sherwani¹

New Delhi
November 30, 1948

My dear Haroon,²

Thank you for your letter. I am following with interest the arguments about the language. I hope to speak on the issue when it comes up in the Constituent Assembly.

As for the Latin script³ I do not think this is the time to say much about it as there is too much prejudice against it. But I think it is possible to use it to some extent. There is no difficulty in finding a proper way for its use.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. H.K. Sherwani Papers, N.M.M.L.

2. (1891-1980); Head of the Department of History and Political Science, Osmania University, 1958-64; author of a number of books on medieval history.

3. Roman script is meant.

4. To Mohammad Ismail Khan¹

New Delhi
December 13, 1948

Dear friend,

I have received your letter without date expressing your strong feeling about the rejection of the amendment² of Mr. Lari³ to article 23 of the Constitution.⁴

I think you and your colleagues have taken an unnecessarily harsh view of what has happened.⁵ Dr. Ambedkar asked me when this amendment was under discussion and I advised him not to accept it, but to express himself in full agreement with the content of the amendment and I am thus responsible for what happened.

I might add that I entirely agree with the object of the amendment and about a week ago I addressed all provincial governments on this very point and advised them to follow a policy more or less in line with Mr. Lari's amendment. Therefore, there is no dispute, so far as I am concerned about the merits of this amendment. I did feel, however, that the Constitution was no place for this kind of thing. I realise that much unnecessary lumber has gone into the Constitution. Nevertheless, I do not wish to incorporate too much. You can rest assured that it will be our policy to proceed on the lines indicated in the amendment. Of course, it may not be feasible to give effect to it fully straight off. I shall certainly do my best to implement this policy.

The real question before me was not so much of a communal question as a provincial one. That is to say provincial languages should be taught in other provinces also in the primary schools.

1. File No. 33(26)/48, PMS. Copies of this letter were sent to Kudsia Aizaz Rasul and Z.H. Lari.
2. By his amendment, as modified by Kazi Syed Karimuddin and Begum Aizaz Rasul, Z.H. Lari proposed that any minority, having a distinct language and script, should be entitled to have primary education in that language and script, subject to a substantial number of such students being available.
3. Z.H. Lari (1907-1972) ; Advocate of Civil Court, Gorakhpur, 1930-40 and of Allahabad High Court, 1940-50; elected member, Legislative Assembly, the U.P., 1936 and again in 1946; Leader, Muslim League Party in the U.P. Legislature; Member, Constituent Assembly, 1948; migrated in May-June 1950 to Pakistan.
4. Article 23 of the Draft Constitution finally took the shape of articles 29 and 30 of the Constitution of India on religious minorities.
5. On 8 December 1948, Lari stated in the Constituent Assembly that in July 1948 when schools reopened, his son, aged six years, was asked by his teacher to do his sums in Hindi only and not to bring Urdu books any more. Later, the provincial government gave an assurance that teaching in Urdu will be arranged wherever the majority of guardians asked for it.

I do not think it is necessary or desirable to reopen this question in the Constituent Assembly. But what is desirable is to carry on this policy and I propose to do that.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

5. To G.S. Gupta¹

New Delhi
December 14, 1948

My dear Guptaji,

Thank you for your letter of the 29th November.² I am sorry for the delay in answering it.

I would like to meet you and discuss this matter with you at some leisure, but I have been so frightfully busy that I could not find the time. Just a few minutes would not do much good.

I do not claim to know much about Hindi or Urdu or Hindustani. But being a writer myself I do claim to know something about language as such. I have studied the history of languages and their development and have studied many literatures. Language is something infinitely more than its vocabulary. Also a language perishes if it becomes exclusive and wants to keep out fresh ideas, words and phrases.

When I see the arguments advanced by those who may be said to stand for Hindi, I am surprised to find that they miss out almost completely the question of the spirit of a language and the beauty of a language.

Hindi has no fear in India for obvious reasons. It is the dominant form of our language and it is bound to develop rapidly. But every attempt to force it down on others in a particular form, and every attempt to limit it and shut its doors to the vocabulary of other languages, will surely injure it gravely and prevent its natural development. I find that many of the protagonists of Hindi look at the language question in a very limited way. Often they are not very cognisant of the great literatures of the world and the history of languages. English is a powerful language because it has kept its doors and windows always open and thousands of new words from foreign languages are added to it every year.

The Hindi translation of the Draft Constitution seems to me to prove how badly Hindi can be written and how unreal it can become if a particular policy is adopted.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. File No. 33(32)/48-PMS.

2. According to Gupta, Hindustani could not be the official language of India because it had inadequate vocabulary of technical words not only for drafting laws and the Constitution but even for elementary school books.

6. To G.S. Gupta¹

New Delhi
December 14, 1948

My dear Ghanshyamdasji,

I sent you a letter today.² After that I received your letter of the 6th December enclosing a copy of Shri Mavalankar's letter of the 22nd September.³

The subject of language is a vast and intricate one and can hardly be dealt with in the course of a letter. As I said in my last letter, I am interested in this matter not merely as a politician but also from the literary point of view. As such I think that the agitation carried on for what is considered a pure Hindi language is misconceived and rather retrograde.

I do not understand why people imagine that the desire to have what is called Hindustani is an appeasement of the Muslims or of a militant or fanatic minority, or just to attain some kind of communal unity. So far as I am concerned, this has nothing to do with the matter.

I am concerned with the evolving of a powerful and vigorous language in India, which has all the strength of the past plus the capacity to expand and grow and fit itself into modern linguistic trends. What I find is happening, is to make Hindi a static, backward-looking language which will never have strength or vigour.

English has got a new lease of life because of the vigour that has come to it from American sources as well as other foreign sources.

My second objection is that the language that is sought to be adopted has absolutely nothing to do with the masses of the people. I know that technical terms must remain rather outside the range of the masses. Even so this process can be limited.

Language can help or hinder the people's growth. A static language makes the people unprogressive.

Science is the peculiar feature of the age today and is international. No scientific student can go very far today without knowing some foreign languages. If all our technical terms on science and technology are completely different from those used in the rest of the world, it is we who will suffer and not the rest of the world.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. File No. 33(32)/48-PMS.

2. See the preceding item.

3. G.V. Mavalankar wrote to G.S. Gupta that communal unity did not mean the majority submerging themselves to please a militant or fanatic minority. While Sanskritised Hindi alone could be the national language capable of making the country strong and united, English, Arabic and Persian should be abandoned altogether.

7. Intolerance Condemned¹

The incident² is an instance of the narrow-mindedness that is pervading certain sections of national life. Why should we behave so ridiculously? Why should we forget the sense of tolerance?

It is a different matter whether Hindi should be adopted as the State language. But I cannot understand the method of agitation that is now being carried on in its favour. It is a ridiculous way of doing things. I have always opposed such methods in the past and I oppose it today. I shall oppose it tomorrow and oppose it for ever.

I have referred to the language controversy,³ just because one delegate interrupted the Congress President when he referred to this issue. At the proper time, the delegate concerned and I will have equal opportunities to express our opinion.

1. Speech at the Jaipur Congress, 18 December 1948. From *The Indian Express*, 19 December 1948.
2. Balakrishna Sharma, a protagonist of Hindi had challenged Pattabhi Sitaramayya's observation that Hindustani could be the national language. Any attempt to force a 'pure' language would fail. A language midway between Sanskritized Hindi and Arabico-Persianized Urdu should emerge.
3. Raghbir Saran Mitra, a U.P. delegate, had said that in challenging the propagation of Hindi, Nehru was committing the same mistake as the delegate who had spoken for Hindi.

7

CONSTITUTIONAL ISSUES

1. Objectives Resolution and the Draft Constitution¹

Mr. Vice-President,² Sir, we are on the last lap of our long journey. Nearly two years ago, we met in this hall and on that solemn occasion it was my high privilege to move a Resolution which has come to be known as the Objectives Resolution.³ That is rather a prosaic description of that Resolution because it embodied something more than mere objectives, although objectives are big things in the life of a nation. It tried to embody, in so far as it is possible in cold print to embody, the spirit that lay behind the Indian people at the time. It is difficult to maintain the spirit of a nation or a people at a high level all the time and I do not know if we have succeeded in doing that. Nevertheless I hope that it is in that spirit that we have to approach the framing of this Constitution and it is in that spirit that we shall consider it in detail, always using that Objectives Resolution as the yard measure with which to test every clause and phrase in this Constitution. It may be, of course, that we can improve even on that Resolution, if so, certainly we should do it, but I think that Resolution in some of its clauses laid down the fundamental and basic content of what our Constitution should be. The Constitution is after all some kind of legal body given to the ways of Governments and the life of a people. A Constitution if it is out of touch with the people's life, aims and aspirations, becomes rather empty, if it falls behind those aims, it drags the people down. It should be something ahead to keep people's eyes and minds up to a certain high mark. I think that the Objectives Resolution did that. Inevitably since then in the course of numerous discussions, passions were roused about. What I would beg to say, are relatively unimportant matters in this larger context of giving shape to a nation's aspirations and will. Not that they were unimportant, because each thing in a nation's life is important, but still there is a question of priority, there is a question of relative importance, there is a question also of what comes first and what comes second. After all there may be many truths, but it is important to know what is the first truth. It is important to know what in a particular context of events is the first thing to be done, to be thought of and to be put down, and it is the test of a nation and a people to be able to distinguish between the first things and the second

1. Speech in the Constituent Assembly, 8 November 1948. *Constituent Assembly of India Debates, Official Report*, Vol. VIII, 4 November 1948 to 8 January 1949, pp. 317-323.
2. H.C. Mookherjee was in the chair.
3. For Nehru's speech in the Constituent Assembly on 13 December 1946, see *Selected Works* (Second Series), Vol. 1, pp. 240-251.

things. If we put the second things first, then inevitably the first and the most important things suffer a certain eclipse.

Now I have ventured with your permission, Sir, to take part in this initial debate on this Draft Constitution,⁴ but it is not my intention to deal with any particular part of it, either in commendation of it or in criticism, because a great deal of that kind has already been said and will no doubt be said. But in view of that perhaps I could make some useful contribution to this debate by drawing attention to certain fundamental factors again. I had thought that I could do this even more because in recent days and weeks, I have been beyond the shores of India, have visited foreign lands, met eminent people and statesmen of other countries and had the advantage of looking at this beloved country of ours from a distance. That is some advantage. It is true that those who look from a distance do not see many things that exist in this country. But it is equally true that those who live in this country and are surrounded all the time with our numerous difficulties and problems sometimes may fail to see the picture as a whole. We have to do both; to see our problems in their intricate detail in order to understand them and also to see them in some perspective so that we may have that picture as a whole before our eyes.

Now this becomes even more important during a period of swift transition such as we have gone through. We who have lived through this period of transition with all its triumphs and glories and sorrows and bitterness, we are affected by all these changes; we are changing ourselves; we do not notice ourselves changing or the country changing so much and it is a little helpful to be out of this turmoil for a while and to look at it from a distance and to look at it also to some extent with the eyes of other people. I have had that opportunity given to me. I am glad of that opportunity, because for the moment I was rid of the tremendous burden of responsibility which all of us carried and which in a measure some of us who have to shoulder the burden of Government have to carry more. For a moment I was rid of those immediate responsibilities and with a mind somewhat free I could look at that picture and I saw from that distance the rising Star of India far above the horizon and casting its soothing light, in spite of all that has happened, over many countries of the world, who looked up to it with hope, who considered that out of this new free India would come various forces which would help Asia, which would help the world somewhat to right itself, which would cooperate with other similar forces elsewhere, because the world is in a bad way, because this great continent of Asia or Europe and the rest of the world are in a bad way and are faced with problems which might almost appear to be insurmountable. And

4. The Draft Constitution was introduced in the Constituent Assembly on 4 November by B.R. Ambedkar, Chairman of the Drafting Committee.

sometimes one has the feeling as if we were all actors in some terrible Greek tragedy which was moving on to its inevitable climax of disaster. Yet when I looked at this picture again from afar and from here, I had a feeling of hope and optimism not merely because of India, but because also of other things that I saw that the tragedy which seemed inevitable was not necessarily inevitable, that there were many other forces at work, that there were innumerable men and women of goodwill in the world who wanted to avoid this disaster and tragedy, and there was certainly a possibility that they will succeed in avoiding it.

But to come back to India, we have, ever since I moved this Objectives Resolution before this House—a year and eleven months ago, almost exactly—passed through strange transitions and changes. We function here far more independently than we did at that time. We function as a sovereign independent nation, but we have also gone through a great deal of sorrow and bitter grief during this period and all of us have been powerfully affected by it. The country for which we were going to frame this Constitution was partitioned and split into two. And what happened afterwards is fresh in our minds and will remain fresh with all its horrors for a very long time to come. All that has happened, and yet, in spite of all this, India has grown in strength and in freedom, and undoubtedly this growth of India, this emergence of India as a free country, is one of the significant facts of this generation, significant for us and for the vast numbers of our brothers and sisters who live in this country, significant for Asia, and significant for the world, and the world is beginning to realise —chiefly I think and I am glad to find this—that India's role in Asia and the world will be a beneficent role; sometimes it may be with a measure of apprehension, because India may play some part which some people, some countries, with other interests may not particularly like. All that is happening, but the main thing is this great significant factor that India after a long period of being dominated over has emerged as a free sovereign democratic independent country, and that is a fact which changes and is changing history. How far it would change history will depend upon us, this House in the present and other Houses like this coming in the future who represent the organised will of the Indian people.

That is a tremendous responsibility. Freedom brings responsibility; of course there is no such thing as freedom without responsibility. Irresponsibility itself means lack of freedom. Therefore we have to be conscious of this tremendous burden of responsibility which freedom has brought; the discipline of freedom and the organised way of working freedom. But, there is something even more than that. The freedom that has come to India by virtue of many things, history, tradition, resources, our geographical position, our great potential and all that, inevitably leads India to play an important part in world affairs. It is not a question of our choosing

this or that; it is an inevitable consequence of what India is and what a free India must be. And, because we have to play that inevitable part in world affairs, that brings another and greater responsibility. Sometimes, with all my hope and optimism and confidence in my nation, I rather quake at the great responsibilities that are being thrust upon us, and which we cannot escape. If we get tied up in our narrow controversies, we may forget it. Whether we forget it or not, that responsibility is there. If we forget it, we fail in that measure. Therefore, I would beg of this House to consider these great responsibilities that have been thrust upon India, and because we represent India in this as in many other spheres, on us in this House, and to work together in the framing of the Constitution or otherwise, always keeping that in view, because the eyes of the world are upon us and the hopes and aspirations of a great part of the world are also upon us. We dare not belittle; if we do so, we do an ill-service to this country of ours and to those hopes and aspirations that surround us from other countries. It is in this way that I would like this House to consider this Constitution: first of all to keep the Objectives Resolution before us and to see how far we are going to act up to it, how far we are going to build up as we said in that Resolution, "an Independent Sovereign Republic, wherein all power and authority of the Sovereign Independent India, its constituent parts and organs of Government, are derived from the people, and wherein shall be guaranteed and secured to all of the people of India justice, social, economic and political; equality of status, of opportunity, and before the law; freedom of thought and expression, belief, faith, worship, vocation, association and action, subject to law and public morality; and this ancient land attains its rightful and honoured place in the world and make its full and willing contribution to the promotion of world peace and the welfare of mankind."

I read that last clause in particular because that brings to our mind India's duty to the world. I should like this House when it considers the various controversies—there are bound to be controversies and there should be controversies because we are a living and vital nation, and it is right that people should think differently and it is also right that, thinking differently when they come to decisions, they should act unitedly in furtherance of those decisions. There are various problems, some very important problems, on which there is very little controversy and we pass them—they are of the greatest importance—with a certain unanimity. There are other problems, important no doubt, possibly of a lesser importance, on which we spend a great deal of time and energy and passion also, and do not arrive at agreements in that spirit with which we should arrive at agreements. In the country today, reference has been made—I will mention one or two matters—to linguistic provinces and to the question of language in this Assembly and for the country. I do not propose to say much about these

questions, except to say that it seems to me and it has long seemed to me inevitable that in India some kind of reorganisation should take place of provinces, etc., to fit in more with the cultural, geographical and economic condition of the people and with their desires. We have long been committed to this. I do not think it is good enough just to say linguistic provinces; that is a major factor to be considered, no doubt. But there are more important factors to be considered, and you have therefore to consider the whole picture before you proceed to break up what we have got and refashion it into something new. What I would like to place before the House is that, important from the point of view of our future life and governance as this question is, I would not have thought that this was a question of that primary importance, which must be settled here and now today. It is eminently a question which should be settled in an atmosphere of goodwill and calm and on a rather scholarly discussion of the various factors of the case. I find, unfortunately, it has raised a considerable degree of heat and passion and when heat and passion are there, the mind is clouded. Therefore, I would beg of this House to take these matters into consideration when it thinks fit, and to treat it as a thing which should be settled not in a hurry when passions are roused, but at a suitable moment when the time is ripe for it.

The same argument, if I may say so, applied to this question of language. Now, it is an obvious thing and a vital thing that any country, much more so a free and independent country, must function in its own language. Unfortunately, the mere fact that I am speaking to this House in a foreign language and so many of our colleagues here have to address the House in a foreign language itself shows that something is lacking. It is lacking, let us recognise it, we shall get rid of that lacuna undoubtedly. But, if in trying to press for a change, an immediate change, we get wrapped up in numerous controversies and possibly even delay the whole Constitution, I submit to this House it is not a very wise step to take. Language is and has been a vital factor in an individual's and a nation's life and because it is vital, we have to give it every thought and consideration. Because it is vital, it is also an urgent matter; and because it is vital, it is also a matter in which urgency may ill-serve our purpose. There is a slight contradiction. Because, if we proceed in an urgent matter to impose something, may be by a majority, on an unwilling minority in parts of the country or even in this House, we do not really succeed in what we have started to achieve. Powerful forces are at work in the country which will inevitably lead to the substitution of the English language by an Indian language or Indian languages in so far as the different parts of the country are concerned, but there will always be one all-India language. Powerful forces are also working at the formation of that all-India language. Language ultimately grows from the people, it is seldom that it can be imposed. Any attempt to impose a particular form

of language on an unwilling people has usually met with the strongest opposition and has actually resulted in something the very reverse of what the promoters thought. I would beg this House to consider the fact and to realise, if it agrees with me, that the surest way of developing a natural all-India language is not so much to pass resolutions and laws on the subject to work to that end in other ways. For my part I have a certain conception of what an all-India language should be. Other people's conception may not be quite the same as mine. I cannot impose my conception on this House or on the country just as any other persons will not be able to impose his or her conception unless the country accepts it. But I would much rather avoid trying to impose my or anyone else's conception but to work to that end in cooperation and amity and see how, after we have settled these major things about the Constitution etc., after we have attained an even greater measure of stability, we can take up each one of these separate questions and dispose of them in a much better atmosphere.

The House will remember that when I brought that motion of the Objectives Resolution before this House, I referred to the fact that we were asking for or rather we were laying down that our Constitution should be framed for an Independent Sovereign Republic. I stated at that time and I have stated subsequently this business of our being a Republic is entirely a matter for us to determine of course. It has nothing or little to do with what relations we should have with other countries, notably the United Kingdom or the Commonwealth that used to be called the British Commonwealth of Nations. That was a question which had to be determined again by this House and by none else, independently of what our Constitution was going to be. I want to inform the House that in recent weeks when I was in the United Kingdom, whenever this subject or any allied subject came up for a private discussion there was no public discussion or decision because the Commonwealth Conference which I attended did not consider it at all in its sessions—but inevitably there were private discussions, because it is a matter of high moment not only for us but for other countries as to what, if any, relation we should have, what contacts, what links we should bear with these other countries. Therefore the matter came up in private discussion. Inevitably the first thing that I had to say in all these discussions was this that I could not as an individual—even though I had been honoured by this high office of Prime Ministership I could not in any way or in any sense commit the country—even the Government which I have the honour to represent could not finally decide this matter. This was essentially a matter which the Constituent Assembly of India alone can decide. That I made perfectly clear. Having made that clear, I further pointed out to this Objectives Resolution of this Constituent Assembly. I said it is open of course to the Constituent Assembly to vary that Resolution as it can vary

anything else because it is Sovereign in this and other matters. Nevertheless that was the direction which the Constituent Assembly gave to itself and to its Drafting Committee for Constitution, and so long as it remains as it is, and I added that so far as I knew it would remain as it is, that Constitution would be in terms of that Objectives Resolution. Having made that clear, Sir, I said that it has often been said on our behalf that we desire to be associated in friendly relationship with other countries, with the United Kingdom and the Commonwealth. How in this context it can be done or it should be done is a matter for careful consideration and ultimate decision naturally on our part by the Constituent Assembly, on their part by their respective Governments or peoples. That is all I wish to say about this matter at this stage because possibly in the course of this session this matter no doubt will come up before the House in more concrete form. But in whatever form it may come up whether now or later, the point I should like to stress is this, that it is something apart from and in a sense independent of the Constitution that we are considering. We pass that Constitution for an Independent Sovereign Democratic India, for a Republic as we choose, and the second question is to be considered separately at whatever time it suits this House. It does not in any sense fetter this Constitution of ours or limit it because this Constitution coming from the people of India through their representatives represents their free will with regard to the future governance of India.

Now, may I beg again to repeat what I said earlier and that is this : that destiny has cast a certain role on this country. Whether anyone of us present here can be called men or women of destiny or not I do not know. That is a big word which does not apply to average human beings, but whether we are men or women of destiny or not, India is a country of destiny, and so far as we represent this great country with a great destiny stretching out in front of her, we also have to function as men and women of destiny, viewing all our problems in that long perspective of destiny and of the World and of Asia, never forgetting the great responsibility that freedom, that this great destiny of our country has cast upon us, not losing ourselves in petty controversies and debates which may be useful but which will in this context be either out of place or out of tune. Vast numbers of minds and eyes look in this direction. We have to remember them. Hundred of millions of our own people look to us and hundreds of millions of others also look to us; and remember this, that while we want this Constitution to be as solid and as permanent a structure as we can make it, nevertheless there is no permanence in Constitutions. There should be a certain flexibility. If you make anything rigid and permanent, you stop a nation's growth., the growth of a living vital organic people. Therefore, it has to be flexible. So also, when you pass this Constitution you will, and I think it is proposed, lay down a period of years —whatever that period may be—

during which changes to that Constitution can be easily made without any difficult process. That is a very necessary proviso for a number of reasons. One is this: that while we, who are assembled in this House, undoubtedly represent the people of India, nevertheless I think it can be said, and truthfully, that when a new House, or by whatever name it goes, is elected in terms of this Constitution, and every adult in India has the right to vote—man and woman—the House that emerges then will certainly be fully representative of every section of the Indian people. It is right that House elected so—under this Constitution of course it will have the right to do anything—should have an easy opportunity to make such changes as it wants to. But in any event, we should not make a Constitution such as some other great countries have, which are so rigid that they do not and cannot be adapted easily to changing conditions. Today especially, when the world is in turmoil and we are passing through a very swift period of transition, what we may do today may not be wholly applicable tomorrow. Therefore, while we make a Constitution which is sound and as basic as we can, it should also be flexible and for a period we should be in a position to change it with relative facility.

May I say one word again about certain tendencies in the country which still think in terms of separatist existence or separate privileges and the like? This very Objectives Resolution set out adequate safeguards to be provided for minorities, for tribal areas, depressed and other backward classes. Of course that must be done, and it is the duty and responsibility of the majority to see that this is done and to see that they win over all minorities which may have suspicions against them, which may suffer from fear. It is right and important that we should raise the level of the backward groups in India and bring them up the level of the rest. But it is not right that in trying to do this we create further barriers, or even keep on existing barriers, because the ultimate objective is not separatism but building up an organic nation, not necessarily a uniform nation because we have a varied culture, and in this country ways of living differ in various parts of the country, habits differ and cultural traditions differ. I have no grievance against that. Ultimately in the modern world there is a strong tendency for the prevailing culture to influence others. That may be a natural influence. But I think the glory of India has been the way in which it has managed to keep two things going at the same time: that is, its infinite variety and at the same time its unity in that variety. Both have to be kept, because if we have only variety, then that means separatism and going to pieces. If we seek to impose some kind of regimented unity that makes a living organism rather lifeless. Therefore, while it is our bounden duty to do everything we can to give full opportunity to every minority or group and to raise every backward group or class, I do not think it will be a right thing to go the way this country has gone in the past by creating barriers and by

calling for protection. As a matter of fact nothing can protect such a minority or a group less than a barrier which separates it from the majority. It makes it a permanently isolated group and it prevents it from any kind of tendency to bring it closer to the other groups in the country.

I trust, Sir, that what I have ventured to submit to the House will be borne in mind when these various clauses are considered and that ultimately we shall pass this Constitution in the spirit of the solemn moment when we started this great endeavour.

2. A Name for the Federal Units¹

Sir, I do not wish to enter into any lengthy arguments on this question, but only wish to point out what my own reaction to this proposal is.² When we met some time back in the two committees—the Union Constitution Committee³ and the Provincial Constitution Committee⁴—we met jointly, and we considered this matter, and also as to what the names of the Houses should be. After considerable discussion, we came to the conclusion that one of the Houses should be called the House of States. So I say this matter was discussed then in various forms. Now I feel that at the present moment, if any change is made in the name of a province, and it is called a Pradesh, personally I think it would be a very unwise change. For the moment, I am not going into merits of it. It may be, we may have to change but if so, there should be some uniformity about these changes all over the place. It is not right to push in one or two words here and there. They do not fit in aesthetically, artistically, linguistically or in any other way.

Apart from all this, the argument that was advanced, that “State” somehow meant something which we did not wish our units to mean, I think, was not a very strong argument. The example of the United States of

1. Speech in the Constituent Assembly during debate on Article 39 A of the Draft Constitution, 15 November 1948. *Constituent Assembly of India Debates, Official Report*, Vol. VII, 4 November 1948 to 8 January 1949, pp. 410-411.
2. G.S. Gupta had moved an amendment “That in Article-1 for the word “State” wherever it occurs, the word “Pradesh” be substituted and consequential changes be made throughout the Draft Constitution”.
3. Nehru was the Chairman of this Committee.
4. Vallabhbhai Patel was the Chairman of this Committee.

America was given. A State is just what you define it to be. You define in this Constitution the exact powers of your units. It does not become something less if you call it a "Pradesh" or "Province". On the other hand "Pradesh" is a word which has no definition. No one knows what it means. With all respect, no one present in this House can define it because it has not been used in this context previously. It has been used in various other contexts. It is a very good word, and gradually it may begin to get a significance, and then of course it can be used either in the Constitution or otherwise. At the present moment, the normal use of the word varies in hundreds of different ways and the word "State" is infinitely more precise, more definite, not only for the outside world which it is, but even for us. Therefore, it will be unfortunate if we used a completely improvised word, which becomes a linguistic anachronism for a Constitution of this type. Now, I can understand the position when our Constitution is fully developed and we have it in our own language with all the appropriate words. Whether "Pradesh" is the right word or not, I cannot say. That is for the experts to decide and I will accept their decision. For the moment we are not considering that issue. We are considering what words should be brought into this present English draft of the Constitution and bringing in words which will undoubtedly sound as odd and inappropriate to many ears in India is not good enough. The use of the word in a particular context is foreign. One has to get used to it, especially in regard to the context, and the more foreign words we introduce, the more you make it look odd and peculiar to the average man. My own test would be, not in putting up linguistic committees and scholars, but taking a hundred odd people from the bazaar and discussing the matter with them and just seeing what their reactions are. We talk in terms of the people but in fact we function often enough as a select coterie forgetting what the people think and understand. Obviously in technical matters you cannot go to the people for technical words, but nevertheless, there is an approach that the people understand and an approach which the people are less likely to understand. Therefore, I would beg this House to consider it from this point of view and maintain the normal English word in the English Constitution and later on consider the matter as a whole as to what other words in our language you will be putting in our own draft, which will obviously have an equal status. But putting it in this would be confusing, and looking at it from a foreign point of view, it would be very confusing because no one would be used to it and it would take a long time even to understand the significance of these changes. For myself I am clear that there should be no difference in the description of what is now a province and what is now a State. There should be a uniformity of description in the two. The proposal is that the word "State" should apply to both, and the second House, if approved, should be called the House of States.

There is another matter. This touches, whether we wish it or not, several other points of controversy in this House. They may be linguistic or call it by any other word. I think it would be unfortunate if we brought in those particular controversies in this way, as if by a side door. Those have to be faced, understood and decided on their merits. There is undoubtedly an impression that changes brought about in these relatively petty ways affect the general position of those issues. I think in dealing with the Constitution, we should avoid that. The Constitution is a big enough document containing principles and deciding our political and economic make-up. As far as possible I should like to avoid those questions which, though important, we could decide in the context of the drafting of the Constitution. Otherwise, what is likely to happen is that we shall spend too much time and energy from the constitutional point of view on irrelevant matters, although important, and the balance of our time and energy is spent less on really constitutional matters. Therefore, I beg the House not to accept the two amendments⁵ moved and to retain the word "State".

* * *

It will probably take less time, Mr. Vice-President, to put the amendment to the vote of the House and it is the proper procedure that it should be put to the vote of the House.

5. The two amendments separately moved by G.S. Gupta and H.V. Kamath, sought to substitute the word "State" by the word "Pradesh" in the Draft Constitution. The amendments were rejected by the House.

3. To V.K. Krishna Menon¹

New Delhi
November 18, 1948

My dear Krishna,

I have received your letter of the 12th November about having a scroll underneath the Crest in the Seal of India.² Some thought was given to it at one time, but it did not lead to any result. The difficulty was we did not know how to describe India in Sanskrit or Hindi. There is a great argument about it. But it might be worthwhile to consider your new suggestion. I am sending it on to the Constituent Assembly people.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. File No. 2(413)/49-PMS.
2. Krishna Menon suggested a scroll of three words : 'Truth, Service and Honour' in Sanskrit characters, underneath the Crest in the Seal of India.

4. To Vallabhbhai Patel¹

New Delhi
November 19, 1948

My dear Vallabhbhai,

This morning in Working Committee we talked about the Constituent Assembly and about the Presidentship of it. I have been giving further thought to this matter and a report I had of today's proceedings has made me think still more furiously.

It is clear that Rajendra Babu will be unable, owing to his ill-health, to take any effective part in these final stages. It is clear also that it would be unfair to cause this heavy burden to fall on Dr. Mookerjee who has not got much experience of this kind. If we are to carry on, as we are doing, this means not only enormous delay but also confusion and possibly even wrong decisions. Many people will take less and less interest in the proceedings and during our absence odd decisions will be taken which we might consider unfortunate.

Therefore I feel that we cannot allow matters to drift and we must be bold enough to take a step. The only step that I can think of is the appointment of a new permanent President. Rajendra Babu has already written to you on this subject and expressed a desire to resign. I think he was right in doing so and he will appreciate any step that we may take in furtherance of his idea. I suggest to you therefore that you might explain this situation to him and agree with him that, in the circumstances, it is unfortunately necessary for us to accept the fact that he cannot come and to make other suitable arrangements.

On Rajendra Babu's resignation, we should go ahead with the election of Mavalankar.² There can be no other person both from the point of view of competence and from the fact that normally the same person should preside over the two different aspects of the Constituent Assembly.

If you agree with this, I hope you will write to Rajendra Babu. If you prefer you can consult other colleagues before you take this step.

Yours,
Jawaharlal

1. J.N. Papers, N.M.M.L.

2. Rajendra Prasad was undergoing medical treatment at Wardha and did not in fact resign.

5. Separation of the Judiciary from the Executive¹

Mr. Vice-President, the Honourable Member who has just spoken² referred to the Government of India in this connection. May I, on behalf of that Government, explain the position and express my regret at the fact that the Government of India as such, jointly certainly and largely even individually, is not intimately connected with the proceedings of this House as it ought to and should be! It should not be taken that any matter put forward here comes from the Government of India, as such, although the Government is intensely interested in it naturally and would like to place their views before this House whenever it is possible. There are, if I may say so with all respect to this House, a number of matters which they have considered, on which the Government might have liked to place their views before this House, but owing to the stress of circumstances, owing to the fact that while this House is sitting, matters of extreme moment are before the Government of India, whether in the domestic field or the international field, that many members of the Government are perhaps at the present moment, over-burdened with these problems and with work that even normally is so difficult, that it is their misfortune not to be able to give such time to these very important considerations of the Constitution as they ought to. I regret that on my own part, and I think the loss is entirely mine.

Coming to this present amendment,³ if I may again make some general observations with all respect to this House, it is this: that I have felt that the dignity of a Constitution is not perhaps maintained sufficiently if one goes into too great detail in that Constitution. A Constitution is something which should last a long time, which is built on a strong foundation, and which may of course be varied from time to time—it should not be rigid—nevertheless, one should think of it as something which is going to last, which is not a transitory Constitution, a provisional Constitution, something

1. Speech in the Constituent Assembly during debate on Article-1 of the Draft Constitution, 25 November 1948. *Constituent Assembly of India Debates, Official Report*. Vol. VII, 4 November 1948 to 8 January 1949, pp. 588-90.
2. H.N. Kunzru.
3. B.R. Ambedkar moved that in Article 39-A. the words : "secure that, within a period of three years from the commencement of this Constitution, there is separation of", be substituted by the word "separate" so that the amended article read: "The State shall take steps to separate the judiciary from the executive in the public services of the State". Ambedkar stated that the object of the amendment was to eliminate the period of three years as proposed in original article because the 'Directive Principles' ought to enunciate principles and not to go into the details.

which you are going to change from day to day, something which have provisions for the next year or the year after next and so on and so forth. It may be necessary to have certain transitory provisions. It will be necessary, because there is a chance to have some such provisions, but so far as the basic nature of the Constitution is concerned, it must deal with the fundamental aspects of the political, the social, the economic and other spheres, and not with the details which are matters for legislation. You will find that if you go into too great detail and mix up the really basic and fundamental things with the important but nevertheless secondary things, you bring the basic things to the level of the secondary things too. You lose them in a forest of detail. The great trees that you should like to plant and wait for them to grow and to be seen are hidden in a forest of detail and smaller trees. I have felt that we are spending a great deal of time on undoubtedly important matters, but nevertheless secondary matters—matters which are for legislation, not for a Constitution. However, that is a general observation.

Coming to this particular matter, the honourable speaker, Pandit Kunzru, who has just spoken and opposed the amendment of Dr. Ambedkar seems to me, if I may say so with all respect to him, to have gone off the track completely, and to suspect a sinister motive on the part of Government about this business.⁴ Government as such is not concerned with this business, but it is true that some members of Government do feel rather strongly about it and would like this House fully to consider the particular viewpoint that Dr. Ambedkar has placed before the House today. I may say straight off that so far as the Government is concerned, it is entirely in favour of the separation of judicial and executive functions. I may further say that the sooner it is brought about the better and I am told that some of our provincial governments are actually taking steps to that end now. If anyone asked me, if anyone suggested the period of three years or some other period, my first reaction would have been that this period is too long. Why should we wait so long for this? It might be brought about, if

4. H.N. Kunzru said that Ambedkar's proposition intended for inclusion in the 'Directive Principles', would therefore, not have been binding either on the Government of India or on any State and he wondered whether probably for that reason it was not included among the 'Directive Principles', drafted initially. But Kunzru regretted that Ambedkar should again modify the proposition after the matter was brought before and accepted by the House. The impression thus created was that the State was not serious in separating the judicial from the executive functions, that it meant to take its own time in bringing about the separation, that this reform was not considered to be of any great importance, that other reforms might easily be given precedence over it, that it was merely an ideal. He described the change as most unfortunate, and thought it an act of public disservice that this "vital reform" might be "postponed indefinitely".

not all over India, in a large part of India, much sooner than that. At the same time, it is obvious that India at the present moment, specially during the transitional period, is a very mixed country politically, judicially, economically and in many ways, and any fixed rule of thumb to be applied to every area may be disadvantageous and difficult in regard to certain areas. On the one hand, that rule will really prevent progress in one area, and on the other hand, it may upset the apple-cart in some other area. Therefore, a certain flexibility is desirable. Generally speaking, I would have said that in any such directive of policy, it may not be legal, but any directive policy in a Constitution must have a powerful effect. In any such directive, there should not be any detail or time-limit etc. It is a directive of what the State wants, and your putting in any kind of time-limit therefore rather lowers it from that high status of a State policy and brings it down to the level of a legislative measure, which it is not in that sense. I would have preferred no time-limit to be there, but speaking more practically, any time limit in this, as Dr. Ambedkar pointed out, is apt on the one hand to delay this very process in large parts of the country, probably the greater part of the country ; on the other hand, in some parts where practically speaking it may be very difficult to bring about, it may produce enormous confusion. I think, therefore, that Dr. Ambedkar's amendment, far from lessening the significance or the importance of this highly desirable change that we wish to bring about, places it on a high level before the country. And I do not see myself how any provincial or other Government can forget this Directive or delay it much. After all, whatever is going to be done in the future will largely depend upon the sentiment of the people and the future Assemblies and Parliaments that will meet. But so far as this Constitution is concerned, it gives a strong opinion in favour of this change and it gives it in a way so as to make it possible to bring it about in areas where it can be brought about—the provinces, etc.,—and in case of difficulty in any particular State, etc., it does not bind them down. I submit, therefore, that this amendment of Dr. Ambedkar should be accepted.⁵

5. Article 39A as adopted on 25 November read: "The State shall take steps to separate the judiciary from the executive in the public services of the State".

6. To Manu Subedar¹

New Delhi

November 28, 1948

My dear Subedar,²

Thank you for your letter of the 20th November.³

Your proposals undoubtedly would lead to economy, though I am not sure if they will lead to greater efficiency. Much can be said of what you write, but surely you will realise that it is just impossible for us to give effect to them, whatever the consequences. The Constituent Assembly will never pass them, indeed will not go anywhere near them. To make a proposal which cannot be given effect to, does not help very much. I am afraid we have gone too far in the direction of provincial autonomy for us to go back.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. File No. 7(137)/48-PMS.

2. Manu Subedar (1899-1972); taught economics at the Universities of Calcutta and Bombay, 1913-18; engaged in business, 1918-30; Vice-President, Indian Merchants Chamber, 1932 and 1934 and its President, 1935; financial adviser, Chamber of Princes, 1936-39; member, Central Legislature, 1937; founded and guided the activities of the Lotus Trust from 1943 to 1972.

3. Subedar proposed that there should be no provincial assembly or elections; all legislation should be passed by a democratic assembly at the Centre; a provincial executive or ministry should be appointed by the Centre and be responsible to it. This would ensure economy in provincial administration, greater efficiency, elimination of fissiparous tendencies and defiance from provinces.

8

MATTERS OF ADMINISTRATION

I. GOVERNMENT POLICY AND CABINET COORDINATION

1. To N. Gopalaswami Ayyangar¹

Paris

28 October 1948

My dear Gopalaswami,

In dealing with any embassy or establishment, we should naturally function through our ambassador and largely rely on his judgment unless some special point arises. Direct dealings between our Ministries in Delhi and departments in our embassies abroad are apt to create confusion. Only purely routine matters might be dealt with in this way, but anything else should I think come through External Affairs direct to the ambassador or high commissioner. I find that this practice is not followed in many cases and even transfers have been made without the knowledge either of the External Affairs or the high commissioner.² This relates to the Education Ministry as well as Commerce and Industry and Supply. I think it would be desirable to vary this practice and to have all important messages from various Ministries of the Government of India to be sent through External Affairs to the high commissioner who would of course pass it on to the appropriate department under him. In particular, no transfers of persons should be made without going through this procedure. Indeed, normally no changes in personnel should take place without previous reference to the ambassador or the high commissioner whose work may be upset by a sudden change without his knowledge....

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. File No. 2(223)/48-PMS. Extracts.
2. For instance the proposal for transfer of Arthur Lall from Indian High Commission in Britain was made without the knowledge of Nehru, the Minister for External Affairs or V.K.Krishna Menon, the High Commissioner. See *post*, sub-section III, item 2.

2. To Vallabhbhai Patel¹

Paris

29 October 1948

My dear Vallabhbhai,

I want to write to you to tell you that Jamsaheb's work here has been satisfactory. He has done this quietly and without any fuss. He has not been in

1. *Sardar Patel's Correspondence 1945-50*, Vol. 7, pp. 672-673.

charge of any vital matter from the political point of view. He was put on the Budgetary Committee of the United Nations. Both in this Committee and in outside work, he has been very useful.

Vijayalakshmi has an outstanding position in the United Nations. She knows how to get on with everybody and is respected by them. Of course, having come to the United Nations for three years, she is well known, and she knows others.

B.N. Rau did good work in the Atomic Energy Commission and people have a high opinion of him. Unfortunately, for entirely irrelevant reasons he was not elected to the International Court of Justice. This shows how merit is put aside in making such appointments. Everybody privately agreed that B.N. Rau was far the more suitable choice but then, the rival groups were eager to gain the goodwill of Yugoslavia.

Many of our delegates and others are individually good. But somehow it is not easy to develop team spirit in them and they function rather individually, unlike some of the other major delegations. Many of the other delegations are semi-permanent. The same persons come year after year and are usually officials. The result is that they know the whole background and can work as a team.

We are thinking of sending back some of the members of our delegation soon to reduce expenditure. No one knows how long the United Nations Assembly will last. Various estimates are made, some of which take it up to the middle of December.

Yours,
Jawaharlal

3. Attendance of Officials at Cabinet Meetings¹

In the United Kingdom, nobody except the Cabinet Ministers can be present at Cabinet meetings. The only exceptions are the Secretary to the Cabinet and his Deputy. If a Minister desires to consult his Secretary in regard to some point under discussion in the Cabinet, the Minister concerned has to go out of the Cabinet room to do so. The Secretary cannot be called to the Cabinet room. In my opinion this is a desirable practice and I recommend, its being adopted in India.² I agree that on certain occasions it might be necessary for the Cabinet to invite certain Secretaries or others to explain certain matters. On such occasions the meetings of the Cabinet could be treated as informal. In the case of all formal meetings, however, the rule against admittance of outsiders to the meeting would strictly apply.

1. 13 November 1948. File No. 2(246)/48-PMS.

2. The Cabinet agreed.

4. To John Matthai¹

New Delhi
November 26, 1948

My dear Matthai,

I have received a letter² from Maulana Azad in which he informs me that the Priorities Committee have made certain recommendations or decisions in regard to his Ministry. These apparently are to the effect:

(a) That the available funds for the year 1948-49 for developmental and allied expenditure should be reduced to two thirds of the amount included in the original budget, and

(b) that the provision in the budget for this expenditure for the year 1949-50 should be approximately equal to this reduced provision for 1948-49.

I do not know if this is some kind of an *ad hoc* decision or is based on the consideration of particular schemes of development which, in the opinion of the Priorities Committee, might well be delayed. I realise fully the pressure of circumstances which compels us to reduce our expenditure. But I would like to know how this reduction will affect some of the major schemes—like the Sargent's Scheme³—on which we have laboured for years and which was on the point of being pushed on. Normally speaking, I would hate to reduce the expenditure on education because we have neglected it too long in the past and the percentage we spend upon it is far less than in most other countries. After all our future depends upon the educational build-up.

Maulana Azad is naturally greatly worried over this, for it means scrapping the labour of the past year or more. He has suggested that the matter might be considered by Cabinet. Perhaps, before this is done, some of us, for instance, you, Maulana Azad and I, might consider it.

I enclose a copy of Maulana Azad's letter.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. File No. 37(27)/48-PMS.
2. Azad wrote on 26 November, that reduction of the resources by the Priorities Committee, would force his Ministry to abandon important schemes and would upset even minimum programmes of education.
3. An education report prepared by John Sargent, Education Adviser to the Government of India, in 1945, formulating a plan to make India fully literate in forty years and involving an expenditure of Rs. 312 crores.

5. To Sri Krishna Sinha¹

New Delhi

November 28, 1948

My dear Sri Babu,

I have been greatly perturbed by the recent terrible boat tragedy in Bihar² in which it is alleged that many hundreds of persons were drowned. Apart from the human loss involved which has been very great, the question arises as to who is responsible for this kind of thing. The provincial government, I hope, is taking active steps in this matter to enquire into the causes and to punish those who are guilty. Also to frame strict rules for the future in regard to these boats carrying passengers across the river. I shall be glad to know what is being done in this matter.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. File No. 7(133)/48-PMS.
2. On 18 November 1948, a steamer S.S. Narayani, ferrying 800 pilgrims besides a hundred head of cattle from Sonepur across river Ganges to Patna, had capsized a few feet off the bank. Five hundred pilgrims and all the livestock were feared to have drowned.

6. To John Matthai¹

New Delhi

28 November 1948

My dear Matthai,

Thank you for your letter of the 27th November,² regarding the decision of the Priorities Committee in regard to the Education Ministry. I appreciate entirely what you say. And yet I have an uncomfortable feeling that it is a little difficult to strike out anything without knowing exactly what it is.

As Maulana Azad wishes me to bring the matter up for consideration before the Cabinet, I shall have to do so. His point is that he has given certain undertakings to the Assembly and the public and it is a little difficult for him to go behind them, quite apart from the other considerations of

1. File No. 37(27)/48-PMS.
2. Matthai wrote that money for developmental projects of the Central Government and of the provinces had to be reduced by one third of the existing provision for checking inflation and a deficit budget. He declined to give any special consideration to the Education Ministry but agreed to discuss the matter in the Cabinet.

pushing education forward. It is for the Cabinet to share the responsibility of any decision.

I propose to send for the Education Secretary, Dr. Tara Chand, to find out from him something about the details of this matter before I proceed further.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

7. To Rajendra Prasad¹

New Delhi
December 13, 1948

My dear Rajendra Babu,

Thank you for your letter of the 8th December about people who have suffered in the struggle for India's freedom.²

As you say something has been done for those who were connected with the Congress movement. Also a great deal has been done for the I.N.A. I do not think any special action is necessary now about the I.N.A. All we can do is to carry on what we have decided. About those connected with the Congress movement many provincial governments have taken steps to help them. It is difficult for the Government of India to come into the picture.

As for those connected with the revolutionary parties, it is not possible to deal with them as a group, but individuals can certainly be considered and each individual case will have to be so considered on the merits. From the point of view of occupying any office or post, the people are very seldom suitable. As a matter of fact, a number of them have been helped in various ways. The difficulty is that one cannot consider odd individuals as forming a uniform group. I do not myself see also how we can set about inviting applications. If the A.I.C.C. office has any particular information, we can consider what should be done either by the Central Government or by the provincial governments.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. J.N. Collection.
2. Rajendra Prasad wrote that while the Congress ministries in the provinces and the Central Government had done something for the sufferers of movements led by Mahatma Gandhi and the I.N.A. men, nothing had been done for the members of the revolutionary parties who suffered long terms of imprisonment and were in dire distress. He urged that the Government should prepare a comprehensive scheme to extend relief to this category of sufferers.

II. THE JUDICIARY

1. To Vallabhbhai Patel¹

My dear Vallabhbhai,

I have written to you twice previously about the future of the East Punjab High Court. I am very much concerned about this matter. This has nothing to do with any personal equation or with any individual judge there. The danger that seems to face us there, is for the High Court also to become entangled in the various conflicts for supremacy that are going on in the political field. More specially what appears to be a deliberate attempt that is being made for a certain section of the Sikhs to gain control of key positions and points of vantage. I have no objection whatever to able Sikhs holding such positions. But the manner this is sought to be brought about fills me with apprehension.

In view of the confusion and conflict of Punjab politics, it is even more important than otherwise that the High Court should be kept apart and should give to the people a sense of security, protection and stability. If the High Court fails to do that, then the whole structure of East Punjab will be greatly weakened and will be a prey to every passing political development.

I am writing this letter after a talk with Justice Achhru Ram², who was greatly worried about the future of the High Court. He had been touring a great deal in the districts of East Punjab. He informed me that he found the state of affairs to be very bad. According to him a deliberate organised attempt was being made by a certain section of the Sikhs to capture the administration. This attempt was extending to the High Court. He referred to certain speeches of Master Tara Singh, which appeared to be very objectionable. There was, he said, a constellation among members of the Bar of all these developments. It was even being whispered that some of the Akali Sikhs might flirt again with Pakistan in the hope of gaining some temporary advantage.

He informed me that recently a secret meeting was held in Hoshiarpur, the stronghold of Master Tara Singh. At this it was decided that every attempt should be made to capture the High Court. The Chief Justice was

1. Undated. This letter was possibly written on or before 8 November 1948. J.N. Collection.
2. (1889-1975); Judge, Lahore High Court, 1943-47, and East Punjab High Court, 1947-49; Custodian of Evacuee Property, 1949-51.

to be a Sikh. Also that the Sessions Judge or the Superintendent of Police in each district must be a Sikh.

On Mahajan's retirement he had asked that the appointment of a new Judge might be postponed. Nevertheless Sardar Harnam Singh³ was appointed. I do not know Sardar Harnam Singh at all well. But I was told that his evidence in an election case had been disbelieved. Further that some action had been considered against him in connection with a legal practitioner's case.

Mahajan and Teja Singh⁴ have now gone. Apparently there is a vacancy now. If Ram Lall and Achhru Ram also go soon, Harnam Singh is left as the seniormost lawyer judge and therefore the probable next Chief Justice, unless some one from outside is sent there. If the vacancies among the judges are filled from the local Bar, the standard will be poor. If outsiders are imported, probably this will be criticized. The outsiders will also not be fully acquainted with the conflicts and problems and might therefore not be able to give that protection which will be expected from the High Court.

Kapur Singh,⁵ Deputy Commissioner of Hoshiarpur apparently wrote an article in July last in favour of a Sikh raj.⁶ Master Tara Singh said in a public speech recently that if Kapur Singh was transferred he would consider this an insult and act accordingly.

Achhru Ram referred to his own personal case also. When he joined the Bench at the sacrifice of a very large income, he was assured by Patrick Spens and Trevor Harries⁷ that the age limit for judges would be extended to 63 or 65. This was done because otherwise his services would have been less than five years, with no pension. If he stays on till the beginning of the new Constitution, he may thus not only lose his pension but be precluded from practising at the Bar. So he would have to retire before the new Constitution comes in, in order to be able to practise at the Bar, unless there is some chance for him to continue.

3. Harnam Singh (b. 1899); legal practitioner, Lahore High Court, 1927-47; elected to the Constituent Assembly, 1946; Advocate General, East Punjab, 1948; Judge, Punjab High Court, 1948-55; author of several books on Sikh religion and history.
4. Teja Singh (1889-1965); District and Sessions Judge, Punjab, 1932-43; Judge, Lahore High Court, 1943; Vice Chancellor, East Punjab University, 1948-49; Chief Justice, Pepsu High Court, November 1948-53.
5. Kapur Singh (b. 1909); joined I.C.S. 1933 and served in various capacities till 1956; author of *Hashish* (1935), *Saptshring* (1957), *Pundrik* (1954), *Bahuvistar* (1956), *Sacred Writings of the Sikhs* (1960), and *Parasharaprasna* (1955).
6. In the weekly edition of the *Ajit* of 26 July 1948, Kapur Singh had contributed an article stating: "There will be bloodshed after the departure of the English and then the Khalsa will rise and dominate on all sides... Khalsa will rule everywhere."
7. Arthur Trevor Harries (1892-1959); legal practitioner, South Wales Circuits, 1922-34; Judge, High Court, Allahabad, 1934-38; Chief Justice, High Court, Patna, 1938-43, Lahore, 1943-46, and Calcutta, 1946-52.

He also spoke to me of the proposed new salary for judges. He said that this would certainly not attract any competent man from outside and there was no suitable man in the Punjab. The result again would be that some Sikhs for political reasons might get these judgeships, even though they might not be competent.

Yours,
Jawaharlal

2. To H.R. Meredith¹

New Delhi
November 11, 1948

Dear Mr. Meredith,²

Thank you for your letter of the 1st November.

I entirely agree with you that the Judiciary should be independent and that there should be separation of judicial and executive functions. I was not aware of the fact that the Constitution says anything against this. Perhaps you would like to have a more positive direction. In matters relating to the provinces we have tried to interfere as little as possible. But if your suggestion can be carried out, I would be glad.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. J.N. Collection.
2. Herbert Ribton Meredith (1890-1959); joined I.C.S., 1914; Registrar, Patna High Court, 1932; Legal Remembrancer and Judicial Secretary to Government, 1934; Judge, Patna High Court, 1940-50; Chief Justice, Patna High Court, 1950.

3. To B.N. Rau¹

New Delhi
November 11, 1948

My dear Rau,

I enclose two letters, one from the Chief Justice of India² and the other from Justice Meredith of the Patna High Court.

1. J.N. Collection.
2. Hiralal Jekisondas Kania was the Chief Justice, Federal Court of India from 1947 to 1950. In his letter to Nehru he had criticised the interference of Ministers in the judicial work.

I am inclined to agree with the Chief Justice. I do not know how far we can go in the new set up.

I feel also that there is very much in what Meredith says and I would welcome some indication in favour of the separation of judicial and executive functions.

I do not quite know what to do with these letters and so I am forwarding them on to you. Perhaps you could put them before the Drafting Committee or any other committee that is going to consider these matters.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

4. To Sri Krishna Sinha¹

New Delhi
November 15, 1948

My dear Sri Babu,

The Chief Justice of India has drawn my attention to a judgment of the Patna High Court criticising the interference of Ministers in the work of the judiciary. I have also received a copy of this judgment. This is a serious matter, for it will bring the High Court into disrepute. It is essential that our High Courts should have the reputation of full independence and integrity and that governments should not interfere in any way with the work of the judiciary.²

He has also drawn my attention to a letter which has appeared in *The Searchlight* of November 10th.³ This has been sent by the Secretary, Judicial Department⁴ to the Registrar of the Patna High Court.⁵ I shall not go into the merits of the question treated in this letter. But I must say

1. J.N. Collection.
2. In his letter of 14 December, Kania said that the failure of the Bihar Government to release the detainees even after the Patna High Court passed an order to that effect was a serious matter and that the officials who authorised and carried out the detention were liable to prosecution. Kania felt that the Bihar Premier had not "fully appreciated the import of the underlying principles of judiciary."
3. In fact published on 11 November 1948. The letter conveyed refusal of Bihar Government to surrender powers regarding recruitment procedure and fixation of salaries, allowances, leave or pension of ministerial cadres of the Court, to the Patna High Court.
4. T.G.N. Ayyar.
5. B.P. Jamuar.

that any such publication is highly reprehensible.⁶ There must have been some gross negligence somewhere, presumably in the Bihar Secretariat. I trust you will enquire into the matter. We are very jealous of the reputation of our High Courts and anything that lessens it is improper.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

6. Regarding leakage of the letter, Kania wrote "whoever the person concerned, whether in the High Court or the Secretariat, deserves to be departmentally dealt with severely."

5. To Vallabhbhai Patel¹

New Delhi
November 17, 1948

My dear Vallabhbhai,

Thank you for your letter of the 17th November about East Punjab High Court.

As I wrote to you, I was concerned about the future of the High Court and the East Punjab and not much about individual cases. I mentioned Achhru Ram's case because, in existing circumstances, he would have to retire even before the new Constitution comes in, in order to retain his right to practice, unless some changes are made in the rules.

The real question to consider is the future of this Court. If, under the existing rules, we suddenly have to face a rapid deterioration there, this would be injurious to the whole set up in East Punjab. Perhaps it would be desirable to discuss this matter as well as connected matters first with the Chief Justice of India and then later, if you like, in Cabinet.

Yours,
Jawaharlal

1. J.N. Collection.

6. To C. Rajagopalachari¹

New Delhi
November 23, 1948

My dear Rajaji,

I am enclosing a copy of a letter² I am sending to Vallabhbhai. I am worried about this matter, but more specially I am concerned about the East Punjab High Court. At the present moment that is about the only solid thing I see in East Punjab. If that goes down, then everything is fluid. I have repeatedly mentioned this matter to Vallabhbhai, but apparently he does not attach very much importance to it. Two of the East Punjab judges have recently retired or been transferred to some other offices. Two more of the senior judges, including the Chief Justice, are due to retire under the age rules early next year. After that hardly any decent judge will remain there. New appointments, if made in the Punjab, will be second rate ones. Outsiders will hardly care to go to the Punjab on the reduced salary and even if they do go, it will take them some time to adapt themselves and know the conditions.

Yours,
Jawaharlal

1. File No. 230-GG/47, President's Secretariat.
2. See the next item.

7. To Vallabhbhai Patel¹

New Delhi
November 23, 1948

My dear Vallabhbhai,

I happened to meet Kania this evening at the American Embassy party. He discussed with me the future of the Federal Court and the High Courts. He was very much perturbed and seemed to think that unless some special steps were taken, our judiciary might deteriorate very rapidly. Indeed, he says, that the deterioration had already begun. If the proposals for the new Constitution were given effect to as they are, the result might well be disastrous in the sense that the quality of the judges would suffer greatly. There was a possibility, he said, of a considerable number of judges resigning. More particularly he pointed out that the position of the Chief Justice would be odd. An existing judge would continue to get Rs. 4,000/-, but there was no

1. File No. 230-GG/47, President's Secretariat.

special provision for the Chief Justice to do so and so, he would get in future Rs. 2,500/-, and if he resigned and one of the continuing judges was asked to become the Chief Justice, he would refuse because that would mean a considerable loss to him. It is not merely the money involved, but a feeling that they are being lowered in the scale of things that is affecting our judges. Kania was especially worried about the future of the East Punjab High Court. I have written to you on this subject on more than one occasion. East Punjab is politically in a somewhat disordered state and if the judiciary gives way or deteriorates, there would be no anchor left.

I think all these matters should be considered very carefully by us in consultation with Kania. Perhaps you could have a talk with him yourself.

It seems to me that the best way to meet this difficulty is not to raise the proposed salaries but to provide other amenities for our Federal Court and High Court Judges, such, for instance, as a free house or a free car, or a car allowance. Of course these amenities should not be given to continuing High Court Judges who draw their full salaries as now. Also these amenities need not be of a permanent nature. They may gradually be done away with later when the disparity between the new judges and the old judges disappears.

Yours,
Jawaharlal

8. To Vallabhbhai Patel¹

New Delhi
December 5, 1948

My dear Vallabhbhai,

Thank you for your letter of the 29th November about the salaries of Federal Court and High Court Judges.

I appreciate what you have pointed out that salaries have not been fixed. Unfortunately these double scales of pay are a great nuisance. They are bad enough in our civil service, when old people are drawing the old scale and new persons much less. This will be perhaps worse in the case of High Court Judges. I think some time or other we shall have to consider this whole matter and do something to introduce uniformity, even though we have to give a bonus or something like it to some of our older civil servants.

1. J.N. Collection.

As for High Court Judges, I do feel that nothing should be done to lower the position of the judiciary or to make it too unattractive for our top lawyers. Obviously one cannot give a money attraction to a lawyer who earns much more than a High Court Judge. But there are certain standards which a High Court Judge would like to maintain and should maintain, and if he is unable to do that, difficulties arise in getting the right men. If, in future, a High Court Judge is paid less than a Secretary to the Government (old style), it would not appear fit or proper.

In regard to this matter perhaps nothing need be done in the Constitution, but it would be worthwhile some time or other to consider this fully in all its aspects.

As for the salary of the Federal Court Judges, it is true that the question of free houses and allowances should be decided when the salaries have been finally fixed. But it will perhaps not be desirable to leave the whole thing completely vague, as it would, as it has, create doubts and confusion in people's minds. If we are clear in our own minds we can state that some such thing is intended and will be given effect to, subject to the fixing of their salaries.

In your letter you have not said anything about the difficulty that arises specially in the East Punjab High Court and possibly in other courts. I am very worried about this. The situation in East Punjab is deteriorating so rapidly that no risks should be taken in regard to it. Personally, quite apart from this issue, I think that High Court Judges should normally not be made to retire at sixty. The type of work is such that they can do it very well for a period even after sixty. In England some of the Privy Councillors approach eighty. But this general consideration apart, which will no doubt be considered by the Constituent Assembly, we have to get over the possible and indeed probable difficulties that we may have to face. I do not see why, by sticking to a present rule, we should add to our difficulties and possibly create a further deterioration in the East Punjab situation. I think we should suggest that High Court Judges should continue to function even though they pass the age limit of sixty till the Constitution is finalised. We might even say that the Governor General (acting of course on the advice of the Cabinet) might be authorised to permit any of such Judges to function till the Constitution is passed and given effect to. It really does not make any very great difference. It is a question of some months.

But this would require some change in the law. I do not think that the Constituent Assembly would object to this provision at all. It could be a simple act or it could be added as an amendment to the Bill you have placed before the Assembly. I suggest that this matter might be considered urgently by the Cabinet so that we might come to a final decision soon.

Yours,
Jawaharlal

9. To Vallabhbhai Patel¹

New Delhi
December 13, 1948

My dear Vallabhbhai,

Thank you for your letter of the 13th December about the procedure on mercy petitions. I am glad you are having this matter examined. I entirely agree that certain principles have to be observed. Capital punishment exists in many countries and all of them, I take it, have some principles according to which the Judge petitions. The application of those principles varies with individuals and naturally even with Ministers. In India the practice in the past in this matter has been rather far remote from the principles applied in other countries where capital punishment prevails. There seems no reason why we should differ in this way and differ in favour of the death penalty, specially when there is a general feeling in the country against it. Therefore I hope that the new principles we should evolve will be more in consonance with enlightened opinion elsewhere in the world.

The commutation of a death sentence is not a very great example of clemency and does not from the social point of view make any difference, because the convict is kept away from society. In the case of a political nature it might make a difference.

It is, I believe, the normal practice for the Head of the State, even a Constitutional Head, to have a great deal of discretion in this matter, though he may seldom exercise it. To deny him that right would be somewhat contrary to modern practice as well as to the courtesy due to the Head of the State.

At the present moment, as law is, I believe that the Governor General has even the legal right to exercise that right of clemency. Of course in the new Constitution we may limit that right. But that hardly seems to me necessary or proper. We take away all power from the Head of the State. Because of this it appears all the more desirable for him to retain some such right.

Yours,
Jawaharlal

1. J.N. Collection. A copy of this letter was sent to the Governor General.

III. APPOINTMENT AND SALARIES

1. To Satyanarayan Sinha¹

New Delhi

November 11, 1948

My dear Satyanarayan,

I received your letter of the 6th November a day or two after my return here.² I wanted to have a talk with you about this matter and no doubt I will. But as I have been terribly occupied and may have little time during the next few days. I am writing this letter to you.

It is not quite correct to say that I have appointed you Deputy Minister. What I did was to indicate that the Chief Whip's post should correspond to that of a Deputy Minister. There was nothing about you, though of course I knew that you were the Chief Whip. I thought that in existing circumstances the Chief Whip should occupy that status. I know that in some countries, notably England, the Chief Whip occupies a different position in the general hierarchy. Possibly that may come to pass in India also. In England Parliament meets continuously throughout the year except of course for brief holidays. It is always difficult to consider any post in vacuum and without regard to the individual connected with it. I tried to do so because it would be a wrong thing to make a change now, which may not be suitable to some other occupant later.

You have referred to the considerable part you have taken in the national movement.³ I am fully aware of this. But surely you will agree with me that in regard to formation of Ministries and the like, other factors have to be taken into consideration also. There are many of our colleagues who have suffered greatly, some of them who have not suffered at all from that point of view. Ministry making has to proceed on some other basis especially in these very difficult times. Mistakes may often be made and are no doubt made. The person who is responsible has to exercise his own judgement in consultation, naturally, with others. I confess I do not understand why you should have a sense of grievance because certain appointments are made.

1. J.N. Collection.
2. Sinha expressed his shock at the press report of his appointment, as Deputy Minister, by Nehru because that position lowered Sinha in the estimation of his colleagues in Parliament and of the public.
3. Sinha had mentioned that he had served the Congress since 1920 and held responsible posts in the Bihar P.C.C., A.I.C.C. and the Central Assembly for many years.

SELECTED WORKS OF JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

You referred to what the press had been writing.⁴ The effect of this kind of thing on me is to irritate me. I have seen in the press also some further reference to your having rejected the post which was supposed to have been offered to you. Of course if you feel at all distressed about this matter, there is no reason whatever why the change I had suggested in regard to the status of the Chief Whip should take place now.⁵

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

4. The press had been persistently suggesting that Sinha would be appointed a Minister of State.
5. Sinha requested that he might be allowed to continue to serve the Party as well as the Government as Chief Whip without any salary so that he could enjoy the confidence and respect of his colleagues. On 3 December 1948, Nehru issued an order raising Sinha's position to the status of a Minister of State and fixing his salary at Rs. 3,000/- per month.

2. To John Matthai¹

New Delhi
15 November 1948

My dear Matthai,

I have received a letter from our High Commissioner in London about a proposal to remove Arthur Lall from his office.² He has also sent me a copy of the lettergram dated 6th November which he sent you.

You are no doubt considering this matter. I feel, however, that I should inform you of the position I found in London. I had a talk with Arthur Lall there. I found that Lall was doing very good work there and was functioning efficiently. He himself was anxious to continue remaining there for some time. As for the High Commissioner, he trusted Lall greatly in many matters and Lall's removal would undoubtedly affect our work in India House. Lall has been representing us in various committees of importance and has made very useful contacts.

As I mentioned in my general report on my return, I was favourably impressed by the functioning of India House and I think it would be undesirable to do anything which upsets present arrangements which are becoming

1. J.N. Collection.
2. On 7 November Krishna Menon wrote that the proposal to move Arthur Lall out of the U.K. came as a surprise and "would create unnecessary upset." He felt strongly that Lall was indispensable for consultations on fiscal and economic matters and was "the only senior officer with U.K. experience and contacts."

ing more and more satisfactory. A new man would take a long time to pick up the threads. Frequent changes are thus generally to be avoided.

There is another matter which I should like you to consider. It has happened on several occasions recently that rather suddenly an order of transfer has reached some official in India House from some Ministry here, for instance Commerce. No previous reference is made to India House. The normal practice should be in the case of our embassies abroad that a previous reference should be made and their reaction obtained before any orders are passed; otherwise confusion results and this is not quite fair to our representatives abroad.

Of course the final decision has to be made by the Ministry concerned here and communicated through External Affairs. But before that decision is made this consultation might well take place.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

3. To Syama Prasad Mookerjee¹

New Delhi
December 1, 1948

My dear Dr. Mookerjee,

I received today a letter from a member² of the Constituent Assembly. I enclose a copy of it.

Some other members have also spoken to me on this subject and it appears that there is a considerable amount of talk about it in the Constituent Assembly and the general public. I do not myself know what the exact facts are, but it is unfortunate that any occasion should be given for such criticism I shall be grateful if you will let me have your comments.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. J.N. Papers, N.M.M.L.

2. T.T. Krishnamachari.

3. A general reference was made in Krishnamachari's letter to "highly unsatisfactory administration" of Ministry of Industry and to the "lack of achievement of anything tangible" by it. Refuting this charge, Mookerjee wrote on 4 December that people coming in touch with his Ministry were highly complimentary about its performance. Mookerjee contradicted the charge of appointing seven Bengalis out of eight heads of departments and wrote that three top officials in the Ministry were south Indians. He also enclosed a note giving the method of appointments in his Ministry which was he believed, similar to the procedure followed in other Ministries.

4. To Jairamdas Doulatram¹

New Delhi
December 1, 1948

My dear Jairamdas,

I have received a letter from a member of the Constituent Assembly in which he strongly protests against, what he says, your keenness to provide Sindhis with jobs in your Ministry, converting the Ministry, as he says, into a virtual refuge for the Sindhis. He adds that this is a big scandal.

I do not know anything about this matter, but I thought it desirable to draw your attention to the criticisms that are being made.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. J.N. Papers, N.M.M.L.

2. On 2 December Jairamdas stated that there had been 2,094 appointments in his departments since January 1948, and of these only 360 were Sindhis, that Sind being the largest among Transfer Bureau's preferred provinces—North West Frontier Province, Sind and Baluchistan—those who registered themselves with the Transfer Bureau were also largely from Sind and that many vacancies were filled by the Transfer Bureau by nominating men from Sind.

5. To C. Rajagopalachari¹

New Delhi
December 3, 1948

My dear Governor General,

You will remember forwarding to me a complaint made by the Federal Public Service Commission in regard to the appointment of Lt. Col. Sheorey² as Superintendent of the Willingdon Hospital, New Delhi. This appointment was made by the Health Ministry against the recommendation of the F.P.S.C.,³ who had suggested another name.⁴

1. File No. 2 (299)/48-PMS.
2. B.K. Sheorey (1902-1975); F.R.C.S.; joined Indian Medical Service, 1941; Civil Surgeon and Medical Superintendent, Willingdon Hospital and Nursing Home, New Delhi, 1948-57; Medical Advisor to High Commission of India in London, 1958-64.
3. In his letter of 26 November 1948 to Nehru, Rajagopalachari favoured the opinion of Javad Hussain, Chairman, Federal Public Service Commission, that the object of the Commission would be defeated if Ministries rejected its recommendations and took their own view on merits of the candidates. He suggested that when such a disagreement occurred, a ministry should submit its case to the Prime Minister and Cabinet for a decision and the present case might be similarly dealt with if final orders had not been passed.
4. Lt. Col. D. Bhatia.

The Minister for Health⁵ has given the reasons for the step her Ministry took in this matter. She has pointed out that she had consulted the Home Minister⁶ also.

I am inclined to agree with the F.P.S.C. when they point out that their recommendations ceased to have any value and their own position would become embarrassing, if Ministries go against these recommendations.

The F.P.S.C. was originally constituted largely to deal with the civil administrative services. Since then the scope of Government employment has very considerably widened and we have continually to choose and appoint specialists and experts, such as scientists, technicians and the like. It is not quite clear to me how far the present F.P.S.C. is an ideal agency for these specialist appointments. I know that they are usually helped by some experts in making their choice. The whole question may have to be reviewed from this point of view some time in the near future.

Meanwhile I suggest that the proper course will be:

- (i) Normally for the recommendation of the F.P.S.C. to be accepted.
- (ii) Where the Ministry demurs, there should be a conference between the representatives of the Ministry and the F.P.S.C. If there is agreement the matter ends there.
- (iii) In case of continuing non-agreement, the Ministry should report to the Prime Minister for submission of the case before the Cabinet.

I trust you agree with this proposal. If you have no objection to it I shall have directions issued accordingly.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

5. Amrit Kaur.

6. Vallabhbhai Patel.

6. To Vallabhbhai Patel¹

New Delhi
5 December 1948

My dear Vallabhbhai,

You will remember that the Governor General wrote to you on the question of his own salary.² This letter was referred to me by you. Some days

1. *Sardar Patel's Correspondence 1945-50*, Vol. 6, p. 340.

2. On 19 October 1948, Rajaji urged Patel to revise the salary of the Governor General since the basis on which it was fixed earlier had altogether changed.

ago I wrote to the G.G. suggesting that this salary might be fixed at Rs. 5,500 per month, as in the Constitution, but that this salary should be free of income-tax. I do not, as a general rule, like anyone's salary being free of income-tax. But I think it would be fit and proper for the Head of State to be given this privilege. This, I believe, is the general rule in other countries. This would fit in with our constitutional provision and, at the same time, give the G.G. something that will be just barely adequate for his normal expenses.

Rajaji was at first inclined to think that the salary might be reduced to Rs. 10,000 or so without any provision about income-tax. But after some discussion with me he agreed to my proposal. I suggest that this matter might also be put up before the Cabinet.

Yours,
Jawaharlal

7. To Vallabhbhai Patel¹

New Delhi
7 December 1948

My dear Vallabhbhai,

I told you two or three days ago that I had received a complaint from a Member of the Constituent Assembly about Syama Prasad Mookerjee's tendency to employ Bengalis and Jairamdas Doulatram's tendency to employ Sindhis in their respective departments. I sent on this complaint to Syama Prasad and Jairamdas.² They have sent me replies. I enclose copies of these.

In Syama Prasad's letter a suggestion is made that a statement should be called for from all Ministries showing a complete list of appointments made in all Ministries, since 15 August 1947 and the procedure adopted in each case. Also the percentage of persons belonging to various provinces. Perhaps it would be desirable to ask for this information. If you agree, the Home Ministry might issue a secret circular to this effect.

Yours,
Jawaharlal

1. *Sardar Patel's Correspondence 1945-50*, Vol.6, p. 342.

2. See *ante*, items 3 and 4.

8. To K.N. Katju¹

New Delhi
December 8, 1948

My dear Kailas Nath,

Thank you for your letter of the 2nd December.

There is no question at present of Beltie Shah² being sent on some appointment abroad.

As a matter of fact I know all the facts you have mentioned. I was in Naini prison for many months with Gilani and I have met him frequently since then. On the whole I am inclined to think that his youthful misdemeanours should not come in the way of any work so many years after. He should be judged on the merits as a whole, but as I have said above there is no question of his appointment anywhere before me.

I might inform you that he has been functioning for the last two or three years as Private Secretary to the Defence Minister. That is not an official appointment but nevertheless it is a responsible position.

When I was at Broadlands, the Mountbattens' country home in England Lady Mountbatten showed me a letter which you wrote to her in which you referred to your liking for the Sherlock Holmes³ stories, etc. She was very much interested in what you wrote and intended writing to you in reply. In the confusion of their transfer to Malta, she has got rather mixed up as to whether she acknowledged your letter or not. She does not quite know how to put this to you. Did you get any letter from her on that subject?

Yours affectionately,
Jawaharlal Nehru

India visit

Beltie Shah Gilani

Arthur Conan Doyle's famous detective saves an Indian from the Gallows

in the *Bombay Chronicle Weekly* of 24 October 1948.

1. J.N. Papers, N.M.M.L.

2. Beltie Shah Gilani.

3. The famous detective in the stories of Arthur Conan Doyle. Katju wrote an article entitled "Sherlock Holmes saves an Indian from the Gallows" in the *Bombay Chronicle Weekly* of 24 October 1948.

9. To Vallabhbhai Patel¹

New Delhi
9 December 1948

My dear Vallabhbhai,

Thank you for your letter of 8 December² regarding appointments in certain Ministries.

In view of what you say, it would be inadvisable to ask for statements of appointments from various Ministries and matters might be allowed to rest there.

Yours,
Jawaharlal

1. *Sardar Patel's Correspondence 1945-50*, Vol.6, p. 347.

2. Patel wrote that asking for statements of appointments in various Ministries would not be "practical politics" and would serve "no useful purpose" as no such allegations were made against other Ministries. While the Government recognised appointments on provincial basis, most appointments of over a year's duration were made through the Federal Public Service Commission, the Transfer Bureau and the Selection Board and Ministers exercised discretion only in choosing from a selected panel.

10. To Vallabhbhai Patel¹

New Delhi
December 11, 1948

My dear Vallabhbhai,

I enclose my correspondence with the Governor General about his salary.² You will see that the G.G. has agreed to my proposal that his salary should be fixed at Rs. 5,500/- a month free of income-tax. May I suggest that this matter be put up in the next meeting of the Cabinet.

I think that the best form of putting it up will be to say that the G.G. has made this proposal. Indeed the correspondence started at his instance.

Yours,
Jawaharlal

1. File No. 2 (311)/48-PMS.

2. See *ante*, item 6.

11. To Vallabhbhai Patel¹

New Delhi
December 13, 1948

My dear Vallabhbhai,

I am sorry for the delay in answering your letter of the 7th December² regarding appointments by the Federal Public Service Commission.

I entirely agree with you that such instructions as might be issued might be discussed in Cabinet.

I have also felt that some of the selections of the F.P.S.C. have not been happy. My difficulty is that if the F.P.S.C. is frequently over-ruled, then their authority fades away.

Yours,
Jawaharlal

1. File No.2 (299)/48-PMS.
2. Patel rejected the objections of the F.P.S.C. regarding appointment of Lt. Col. B.K. Sheorey, as Superintendent, Willingdon Hospital, since all rules were complied with. He had to ask for fresh recruitment in two cases where candidates recommended lacked essential qualifications. While the Commission's recommendations should be normally accepted, a Ministry could depart from them, for reasons to be recorded and discussed with the Commission. If differences still persisted the matter could be disposed of by the Minister or the Cabinet.

IV. HONOURS AND TITLES

1. To C. Rajagopalachari¹

New Delhi
10 November 1948

My dear Rajaji,

On the eve of my departure from London, Dickie Mountbatten sent me a letter. I enclose an extract from it. Together with this letter he sent me a copy of his letter to the King. This is also enclosed.² Both these relate to the Star of India Order and in particular to the Grand Mastership.

I confess I feel no interest in this matter. I do not think it is quite correct for him to say, as he has done in his letter to the King, that my Govern-

1. J.N. Collection.
2. Not printed.

ment would be pleased for him to continue as Grand Master of the Star of India until and unless a new successor was chosen. I cannot blame him, however, for writing this, as he showed me the letter before sending it and I hurriedly read through it. I did not then notice this particular phrase.

What I had told him was this that I had no objection to the regalia etc. remaining with him till some other decision was made. I understood this to mean that there was a vacuum which for want of a decision he felt.

Personally I think that we should not bother about this at this stage at all. The matter can be considered in the light of the new Constitution later.

As for making any further appointments to the Star of India, I think it would be inadvisable. Perhaps you could speak to the Maharaja of Patiala³ when you see him and explain the situation to him. I am sure he will agree because any such appointment would hardly add to his prestige now.

Yours,
Jawaharlal

3. Yadavendra Singh.

2. To Devadas Gandhi¹

New Delhi
December 6, 1948

My dear Devadas,

Thank you for your letter of December 3rd.²

I am surprised to learn that important news³ and criticisms are given prominence because of lobby talks when some kind of confirmation is easily available. I might inform you that Bajpai did not act in the slightest degree without instructions from here. In fact when I was in Paris he and I as well as part of our Delegation there discussed possible developments and on my return we have been in continuous touch.

As for Bajpai's title "Sir",⁴ he asked me over a year ago what he should do about it and said that he would gladly give it up formally if I so sugges-

1. J.N. Collection.
2. Devadas Gandhi wrote that the news on the Kashmir issue published in *The Hindustan Times* of 1 December was based on reliable lobby talks that G.S. Bajpai had initially acted without instructions from the Government of India and given cause for rumours of behind-the-scene negotiations.
3. See *ante*, section 2, sub-section I, item 23.
4. Devadas Gandhi wondered why people like Bajpai "should hang on to their titles."

ted. He felt, however, that any such gesture now would be rather spectacular and without much meaning, especially coming from a Government servant. There was some point in public men doing it of their own accord and there was some point in a Government servant doing it and suffering the consequences of it at an earlier stage. Now it was not for an individual Government servant to take such a step but for Government to issue such directions as it thought fit and proper governing all of them. One person taking such a step might give rise to some cynical criticism and would put every Government servant in a difficulty.

On the other hand, at the present stage any official order from Government seemed undesirable to me and needlessly an aggressive act. I told him, therefore, that he need take no step. Some time or other Government will no doubt take a step in regard to titles, probably after the passing of the Constitution. Meanwhile, it is right that a general practice should grow up of leaving out titles, as *The Hindustan Times* has done. This is easy enough in our domestic affairs, but for a person dealing with foreign ambassadors and the like, the practice persists till formal orders are issued.

Your affectionately,
Jawaharlal Nehru

3. To Vallabhbhai Patel¹

New Delhi
December 7, 1948

My dear Vallabhbhai,

In view of the fact that it is our definite policy not to give titles, would it not be a good thing to issue instructions to our Government departments that in future no titles should be used so far as Indians are concerned. It would not be proper, I think, for us to ask people to surrender their titles as this would involve some controversy and an apparent courtesy to the King. But as a matter of practice we might issue these instructions to our own offices both here and in the provinces. To some extent this practice has grown already. We might regularise this. If you think it desirable, the matter might be mentioned in the Cabinet.

There is one difficulty, however, that relating to the Rulers. Must their titles also be dropped? Perhaps it is a little premature to suggest that, although I feel this will have to be done after the new Constitution is passed.

1. File No. 2(287)/48-PMS. Also available in J.N. Papers, N.M.M.L.

SELECTED WORKS OF JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

I wrote to you two or three days ago² about the matter of the Judges of the High Court and specially of the East Punjab case. As there is a Cabinet meeting on the 11th morning I suggest that this matter might be mentioned then, specially the question of an extention of the age-limit till the Constitution is passed.

Yours,
Jawaharlal

2. See *ante*, sub-section II, item 8.

V. LAW AND ORDER

1. To Vallabhbhai Patel¹

New Delhi
November 8, 1948

My dear Vallabhbhai,

Your letter of the 8th November about Harry Pollitt.² I have known Pollitt personally for the last 13 years and previously through his reputation. He is undoubtedly a hundred percent Communist and the leader of the Communists of the United Kingdom. He was in the past very popular among trade union circles generally in England, even those that were not Communist. He was also generally thought of by non-Communists as a man of integrity and was rather liked by various types of persons in England. At the beginning of the last World War he took up an attitude which was not fully in consonance with the Russian official attitude. As a result he had to resign from the General Secretaryship of the Communist Party in the U.K., but nevertheless he continued in the Party.³ So far as I know, he is not a

1. J.N. Collection.
2. Harry Pollitt (1890-1960); Secretary, Hands off Russia Movement, 1919, National Minority Movement, 1924-29, and Communist Party of Britain, 1929-56; Chairman, Communist Party of Britain, since 1956; author of *Serving My Time* (1940), *How to Win the Peace* (1944), *Answers to Questions* (1945) and *Looking Ahead* (1947).
3. In September 1939 the central committee of the Communist Party of Britain declared their support for the war of democracy against fascism and Pollitt wrote a pamphlet entitled *How to Win the War*. The Russian viewpoint was that it was an imperialist war. After a nine-day debate the central committee accepted the Russian viewpoint and Pollitt, who was apparently opposed to this decision, was removed from office. When Germany invaded Russia the war became an anti-fascist one and Pollitt was restored to office.

member of parliament. But I am not quite sure, in view of the assertion made in these papers.

Normally I would hesitate to refuse permission to a man of his general eminence in U.K. public life to visit India, and there is little doubt that such a refusal would excite widespread comment and a good deal of criticism.

Nevertheless, in view of all the circumstances, I am inclined to agree with the suggestion you make, that is that the British Government be informed that we would not like India to be included at present in the list of countries for which his passport is endorsed, and that, should he at any time desire to visit India, he should apply for an endorsement for India in the ordinary course, stating the purpose of his visit and duration of his stay in India. We should then be consulted and would give our views in regard to this facility on a consideration of the circumstances prevailing at the time.

I might mention that Harry Pollitt made several efforts to lead a deputation to me in London, during my recent visit there. The purpose of this deputation was to protest against the action taken by the Government of India in regard to Trade Union and Labour leaders. I did not agree to receive this deputation partly for lack of time, and partly because I did not think it would serve any useful purpose. I asked him to send any memorandum he wished, whereupon he sent me a lengthy memorandum. I shall have this forwarded to the Home Ministry separately.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal

2. To B.G. Kher¹

New Delhi
November 17, 1948

My dear Kher,

You know that I do not like detention without trial of any person. Yet whether we like it or not conditions force us to do this. I have often written about this in my fortnightly letters to Premiers and requested them to keep a careful watch on such detentions, because once the principle is conceded, there is always some danger of abuse. Usually junior officials deal with such matters, or even when senior officials have to do so, they rely largely on the reports of their juniors. Police reports are often good, but sometimes they are based on a complete ignorance of the political aspect of things. I

1. J.N. Collection.

have myself read many reports which, from my past knowledge, I could say were based on a wrong interpretation of things.

I write this long preamble merely to request you again to see that no one is detained without trial unless there are adequate reasons for doing so. We have to meet the active hostility of the Communists. We should try to avoid pushing others into a hostile camp. Of course where necessity arises, you will no doubt take the required step, whatever it may be.

Apart from these general observations, I should like to draw your attention to one particular case, that of Nana Purohit, a Mahar from Colaba, who was apparently interned some six months ago in May last on a charge of trying to run a parallel Government. I understand that a *habeas corpus* application on his behalf has already been rejected.

I do not know anything about him personally, but reports have reached me that he is an able and earnest man and is amenable to reason. I am told also that many believe him to be quite guiltless, although he got entangled in some business which apparently resulted in his arrest. If the facts given to me are correct, there would appear to be no reason why he should be kept in detention indefinitely. It is for you or your Government to consider his case and take such action as you deem fit and proper.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

3. To Gopichand Bhargava¹

New Delhi
November 23, 1948

My dear Gopichandji,

My attention has been drawn to a poster which gives a print of a letter sent by twenty families of East Punjab to you. This poster pleads the case of the Communists who are in jail. It is said that the treatment given to them in prison is harsh.

I do not know anything about this matter, but any such charge should be investigated. It is one thing for us to arrest and intern Communists because of their anti-national or subversive activities. It is quite another thing to treat them or any other political prisoners badly in prison. This gives us a bad name and does not fit in with our professions of humanitarianism.

I hope you will look into this matter and if there is any truth in the complaints made, steps will be taken to remove them.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. J.N. Collection.

4. Irresponsible Journalism¹

I attach two cuttings from *March*, a weekly published in Bombay. This weekly has established some kind of a reputation for extreme vulgarity, crudity and falsehood. I am not much concerned with its journalistic code or indulgence in falsehood, nor do I wish to give it any publicity by taking notice of it. But there is one matter which, I feel, affects our Foreign Office. There has been a continuous series of messages in it from its New Delhi Correspondent which often deal with our Foreign Office. Almost always these are figments of imagination or are based on a core of truth which is embellished and perverted. Possibly some information is obtained from some employee in our Ministry. If the information was more or less correct, I would not mind much, unless it was secret information. But almost invariably the information itself is largely incorrect.

I feel now that this constant broadcasting of falsehood with a touch of malice in it might delude many people and thus be slightly harmful. I feel therefore that you should take some steps about this matter.²

I attach two cuttings from a recent number. They are both completely false and contain so many wrong statements that it is hardly possible to correct them.

Presumably these messages are sent by the Delhi Correspondent and also presumably this Delhi Correspondent is known. He should be sent for by you and asked if he is responsible for these messages. He should be told that they are full of lies and a person who indulges in this stream of lies maliciously is not going to be encouraged. If he has any facilities in our Ministry, this should be withheld.

I do not know what procedure has been laid down by the Press Department of the Information and Broadcasting Ministry. You might enquire from them.

1. Note to the Foreign Secretary, 29 November 1948. J.N. Collection.
2. D.F. Karaka, the editor of *March*, was prosecuted by Bombay police for publication of an item : "Drink Like a Man—A Black and White Advertisement" and was finally acquitted on 8 March 1949 by the Presidency Magistrate of Bombay.

5. To Vallabhbhai Patel¹

New Delhi
December 2, 1948

My dear Vallabhbhai,

I have just received your letter of the 1st December² with its enclosures which I return.

Shibban Lal says something about my receiving a deputation of the Federation on two occasions. I remember meeting K.T. Shah and Shibban Lal³ once about this matter. This was a little before the strike of Central Government employees in Calcutta and this Federation was opposing that strike. It was quite a new body at the time. K.T. Shah and Shibban Lal asked to see me on its behalf and I met them and discussed various matters I do not remember meeting them again, though I might have done so casually.

I agree with you that members of Government should not associate themselves or appear in public in association with any such organisation which is unrecognised. But I am not quite clear if this rule can be applied to members of the party in the Constituent Assembly. If it was so applied, there would be a great deal of commotion and we would have to face needless trouble. Some effort might be made to bring the fact that this Federation is not a recognised one to the notice of the Party. It is a little difficult in such matters to follow a strict rule with members of a large party which practically includes most of the members of the Constituent Assembly. This attempt has not succeeded in England.

I did not myself know whether this organisation is recognised or not. When members of the Constituent Assembly desire to see me even on behalf of some organisation or union which is not recognised, it is difficult to refuse their request.

I was invited to this conference also. I believe a reply has been sent expressing my regret at my inability to attend. Probably some words of good wishes have been added as a routine matter.

Yours,
Jawaharlal

1. File No. 35(1)/48-PMS.

2. Patel wrote that members of the Congress Party and Ministers must not associate themselves with unrecognised associations of government employees and that this might be conveyed to all concerned.

3. Shibban Lal Saksena.

LETTERS TO THE PREMIERS OF PROVINCES

LETTERS TO THE PREMIERS OF PROVINCES

I¹

New Delhi
16 November 1948

My dear Premier,

I am writing to you after nearly six weeks. During my absence in Europe, the Deputy Prime Minister was good enough to continue these fortnightly letters.²

2. Since my return I have been overwhelmed with work and I fear I cannot write to you at present as fully as I would have liked to. Some of the Premiers are attending the Constituent Assembly sessions and I hope to meet them here from time to time.

3. My visit to Europe was full of interest and I had the good fortune to meet a large number of prominent statesmen and to discuss with them matters of importance in the international sphere. This enabled me to form a clearer picture of current events and the forces at work. I have said something about these matters in public utterances which you might have seen. Naturally I could not disclose all the contents of my talks, nor indeed can I write in any great detail about them.

4. I was struck forcibly by the high position that India had already attained in the eyes of other nations. Whether we want it or not, this great responsibility has come to us. We cannot escape it and the only other thing to do is to try to live up to it. That involves a wider vision and our living up to certain standards of national and international conduct. Any narrowness and petty-mindedness in the conduct of our own affairs or in our relations with the world at large would injure India's cause greatly. The world looks at us, but even more so the Asian countries look to us. I had occasion to meet the representatives of almost every Asian country in Paris and later in Cairo, and almost all of them expressed an earnest wish for closer relations with India and among themselves. They wanted India to take the lead in this matter. I told them that there was no question of leadership but India was eager to cooperate to the fullest extent possible with her sister nations in Asia. It is not clear what exact steps we can take because obviously any attempt to have a closer relationship might well lead to difficulties. The matter is being investigated.

5. In regard to India and the Commonwealth, I proceeded on two assumptions: (1) That India must be a completely independent Republic

1. These letters to the Premiers have also been printed in G. Parthasarathi (ed.), *Jawaharlal Nehru—Letters to Chief Ministers 1947-1964*, Vol. 1 (New Delhi, 1985), pp. 219-245.
2. Fortnightly letters of 15 October and 1 November 1948, printed in V. Shankar (ed.), *Select Correspondence of Sardar Patel 1945-50*, Vol. 2, pp. 327-350.

with full control of her domestic and foreign policy as well as everything else that appertains to an independent country; (2) That in this context it was desirable to maintain some form of association with the U.K. and the Commonwealth because this seemed to me advantageous both from our national point of view and that of the world peace at large. It is true that India cannot make much difference in the game of power politics today. But I began to feel that India can make some difference and even some difference may lead to great results at critical moments. In our interests as well as that of the world we cannot afford to isolate ourselves at this critical stage. I must say that I had the friendliest reception from the U.K. Government and the other Commonwealth countries represented at the Conference in London. I had long talks with each one of them.

6. The situation in Europe continues to be tense and critical, chiefly on account of Berlin. But I formed the opinion that no war is in prospect, unless some major folly occurs. The real reason is that no one is prepared for war. This gives us some time to work for peace. No crisis endures at a high pitch for a long time. It leads to war or to a lessening of the crisis. As there appears to be no likelihood of war, I concluded that there will be a toning down of the crisis in Europe.

7. In China events have marched rapidly and it would appear that a great part of North China will go to the Communists. The Nationalist Government appears to be very weak and very disunited.³ Possibly after a while the Communist forces will stop their advance and consolidate the large areas they have gained. This will mean some kind of a division of China into two vast areas. The victory of communism in China is of great moment to Asia and the world. I do not think this will have any immediate results in the rest of Asia, except insofar as it encourages communist elements elsewhere.

8. It is natural that the Soviet Union should rejoice at the victory of the Communists in China. But from reliable sources it appears that the Soviet have thus far not given any direct help to the Chinese Communists.

9. In South East Asia it might be said that the Communist upheavals have been controlled and in some cases the Communists have been fully held or even suppressed. One of the most unfortunate of these is in Indonesia where the gallant young Republic, fighting for its freedom against the Dutch, was faced by a Communist uprising.⁴ This may be said to be due

3. The Social Democrats and Young China Party avoured peace talks with the Communists, posing a serious threat to the Nationalist Government dominated by the Kuomintang, the conservative elements of which were seeking military assistance from the U.S.A. to fight the Communists.

4. On 11 September 1948, pro Communist troops captured Madiun city and certain other parts of Java.

partly at least to the aggressive policy of the Dutch which led many people in Indonesia to lose faith in the existing Government as it could not deliver the goods. Frustrated, they looked for something else and some of them chose the Communists. The Republic has triumphed for the moment, but it depends on future Dutch policy. If colonialism continues anywhere in South East Asia, the natural result will be a growth of communism. Indonesia has been and will continue to be to a large extent, in danger of Dutch military aggression. If any such thing happens, there will be the most bitter struggle in Indonesia. In a military sense the Dutch will soon win of course, but they will have then to deal with continuous guerilla warfare and scorched earth policy. The Indonesians will fight to the last and even destroy their fair country rather than yield to the Dutch. The Dutch are playing the old game of empire by setting up puppet states.⁵ I have no doubt that sooner or later the Dutch will have to go.

10. Our Government has taken up a strong line in support of the Indonesian Republic and we have been in constant touch with the U.K., U.S.A. and several other governments.⁶ I think I can say that our action in this matter has produced some results. It may even prevent any further Dutch aggression, though we cannot be sure of that. We have also been in constant touch with the Indonesian Republic in their grave hour of crisis. For them this help of ours has meant much and the President and the Vice-President of the Republic have sent us their warm thanks for the action we have taken. The situation has to be watched carefully. We have sent a new Consul-General to Batavia—Dr. Alagappan.⁷

11. In Kashmir I am sorry to say there is still no likelihood of a settlement and therefore we have to fight on. We have recently had some gains in the Ladakh valley and on the route to Leh over the Zoji La.⁸ Yesterday we captured Dras which is an important centre. Operations are still proceeding. When these have succeeded, we shall have freed the whole of Ladakh.

12. Some operations on our part are proceeding in the Poonch area in

5. In Indonesia the Dutch sponsored states with independent status in East Indonesia, West Java, East Sumatra, Madura, West Borneo, Banka, Belitung, Palembang, South Sumatra, Pedang etc.
6. The Government of India had repeatedly approached the Governments of the U.K. and the U.S.A. to persuade the Dutch to reach a settlement with the Republicans. See *post*, section 11, sub-section IV, items 2 and 10.
7. Major General Sankarankoil Chidambaranatha Alagappan (b. 1893); joined Indian Medical Service, 1917; served in the First World War; joined I.N.A. and worked as Minister for Supplies and Director of Medical Services in "Azad Hind" provisional government; Consul-General for India in Indonesia, 1948-51.
8. See *ante*, section 2, sub-section I, items 8, 13 and 16.

order to connect the Poonch town to the other areas under us. All this does not directly affect the military conflict in the major places, such as Uri and Tithwal. It will hardly be possible to do much in these areas after the winter sets in, in earnest.

13. One of our most important problems is that of the exodus from East Bengal to West. This is very largely due to the political and economic conditions in East Bengal. We can do very little to improve conditions in East Bengal. But the problem continues to grow and it is essential that a way out should be found.

14. If it is admitted that the exodus must be stopped in the interests of all concerned, then we must not do anything which might encourage the exodus. In this matter newspapers can help greatly. I am afraid that many newspapers do not understand the realities of the situation and their writings have often encouraged the exodus. It would be desirable to explain to newspapermen privately this position and request them not to do anything which hardens a difficult situation.

15. The steps we took to fight inflation have not borne any obvious fruit yet, though there are definite indications that there is likely to be some improvement after a month or two. Meanwhile we have to face the fact that owing to the rise in cost of living,⁹ we have to do something substantial to relieve our workers and others from the difficulties they have to face. There is a demand for the addition to their dearness allowance. It is a logical demand in view of the rise in the cost of living. Nevertheless it is a demand which it is exceedingly difficult to fulfil. For the mere act of fulfilling it would mean helping inflation to grow. A committee of the Cabinet is considering this matter carefully.

16. Labour is obviously restive and is often exploited for wrong ends. Recently a token general strike was proclaimed in Delhi.¹⁰ Fortunately this did not succeed at all, but the situation is not a happy one and has to be watched very carefully. Any anti-social action must necessarily be met by Government with all its strength if necessary, so as to protect the community and in order to prevent all-round deterioration. But it must always be remembered that mere repression is no remedy for such a contingency. Labour must therefore be treated with all friendliness and the situation explained to them. They should be consulted wherever possible so that a part of the responsibility might be shouldered by them. Where it is necessary to arrest or detain people encouraging unsocial action, this has to be

9. For example the cost of living index for Bombay rose to 302 in November from 258 in January 1948.

10. Socialist-led trade unions of the N.D.M.C. and of other public undertakings in Delhi struck work on 13 November demanding enhanced D.A. and better housing.

done. But this must not be overdone and as soon as the necessity for it is passed those who are detained for this purpose might be released. I have already drawn your attention to the reactions abroad in regard to any action that we take against trade unions or labour generally. A suppression of the strike does not lead to ending of the conflict which continues below the surface. We have to aim at cooperative action for production and for higher standards. Mere repression will not lead to this though repression is necessary occasionally. We must therefore keep the larger end in view all the time.

17. The recent communal outbreak in Calcutta¹¹ was depressing. It showed that evil forces are still at work. In this matter there can be no leniency, for that would be a very shortsighted policy. So far as the minorities in India are concerned, we are pledged to protect them and give them their full rights and we must honour that pledge. Any weakening on this issue would do us very great harm.

18. In this connection I should like to revert to the situation in East Bengal. Certain suggestions have been made that in order to exercise some pressure on the Pakistan Government we might point out to them that in case large numbers of people continue to come from East Bengal to West Bengal, the question of further territory being provided for them might arise. Another suggestion has been made that if Hindus come over from East Bengal to West Bengal, Muslims might go from West to East Bengal in like proportion. All this may be strictly logical but even a hint of this kind of thing is fraught with the most dangerous consequences. First of all the result of any such propaganda would be an immediate worsening of the situation and a largely increased exodus. Secondly it would mean our giving up the idea of a secular state for which we stand. Indeed it would mean an enormous upheaval all over India and a complete unsettling of all that we have done. The future would become dark and we would lose all credit not only in India but abroad. I would therefore beg of you to explain, privately and otherwise, this situation to others, more specially newspaper-men.

19. The issues before us have been and are still so difficult and vital that we must be very careful of the general line we adopt in regard to them. A false move will injure us and discredit us and bring greater trouble in its train. There is no doubt that the Pakistan Government and the East Bengal Government do not play fair and are responsible for much that is happening. It is even truer to say that the petty officials of East Bengal are making it difficult for Hindus to function there. Even persons like Pyarelal,

11. Five died and several persons were injured in a communal disturbance in North Calcutta on 13 November 1948, while *Moharram* processions were obstructed near Amherst Street, Beleghata and Manicktola.

Mahatmaji's Secretary, have got into trouble. If Pyarelal cannot work there, much less can others. Admitting, therefore, the wrong on the side of Pakistan, we must determine our own policy. That policy cannot be one of wrong for wrong or of retaliation. It has to be a firm policy of not submitting to wrong. But anything in the nature of retaliation does not lead to an ending of the conflict or a settlement but to an increasing conflict with all the consequences that follow. I think that while we must be firm about the major matters, our general attitude in public should not be an aggressive one. Pakistan is at present suffering from something in the nature of hysteria and a fear that India is going to attack it. That fear is completely unjustified. There is no question on our side of taking aggressive action in regard to Pakistan. But sometimes our newspapers write in a vein which increases this hysteria on the other side. In any event we should not behave in a hysterical or even excited way. That is not a sign of strength or firmness. If we give a continuing lead both in firmness and in peaceful approach, I am sure this will bear results on the other side.

20. We are at last sending Shri S.K. Basu¹² as our Deputy High Commissioner to Dacca. I hope that his presence there will help in easing the situation. But the situation can finally only be eased by a combined effort on our part and of course on the part of Pakistan.

21. There is one matter which has made me think hard and I want to share my apprehension with you. I think there has been a deterioration in the work of our public services. To some extent this was perhaps inevitable because of the rapid changes that have taken place and the quick promotions which have followed. Nevertheless it is a disturbing development and we have to be on our guard against it. One reason for this deterioration appears to me to be due to an excess of provincialism which sometimes sacrifices quality in favour of some man from the same province. We have many first-rate men in our services. But it is true that the number of really good men for a country like India is really limited. Whatever policy we might adopt, it is ultimately the human material that counts. If we lower the tone of the material our work will suffer greatly. The British Government in India, in spite of its numerous failings, had set up a more or less efficient administration for the purposes they had in view. Those purposes were not always to our liking and were sometimes directly opposed to our objectives. Nevertheless an efficient administration was worthwhile and a good thing. It would be most unfortunate if we lose this legacy and allow our administration to deteriorate. We have of course to change the whole tone

12. (1890-1977); lawyer; member, Calcutta Corporation, 1926-36, Mayor, 1933-34; Member, Bengal Legislative Assembly, 1937-46; Deputy High Commissioner in Dhaka, 1948-50; author of several books including *Reminiscences of Congress*.

of that administration and give it different objectives. But efficient it must remain, or else all our work becomes sloppy and bad. Therefore in this matter any other consideration, such as provincialism, must not be allowed to come in the way.

22. This applies more specially to those services and branches of activity which require experts of any kind, for instance medicine, science, technology, etc. I have noticed a tendency to remove able and experienced medical men from their posts in order to make room for some provincial person who is obviously not so good. I do hope that you will encourage no such tendency.

23. I am particularly concerned about science and technology. Recently some very eminent British Scientists came to India and investigated conditions for scientific and technical work here. Their report is an interesting one and I have had occasion to have personal talks with them in England. They told me that the student material here was very good, so far as science was concerned. It is also well-known that we have some first-rate scientists. Nevertheless teaching generally, according to them, was poor and often enough the wrong men were in charge of both teaching and the executive work in scientific and technical institutions. Very little real research work was being done. Students often had little respect for their teachers simply because the teachers were not of outstanding merit. They gathered the impression that appointments were governed by factors other than efficiency and real capacity.

24. Another thing that they pointed out was the wastage of good scientific talent. Bright young men who had been trained abroad or in India found no opening, while second-rate people were being continually appointed. If this is true, as I believe it is, then we are heading for a decline in our scientific work. That would be disastrous. I would beg of you to give thought to these matters and to see to it that no other consideration but sheer merit prevails in appointments.

25. Most of our service rules were meant for the old type of civil servants. They do not apply to scientific and other workers. Thus the civil service age limit is absurd for a scientist. Many scientists have done their best work in the later years of their life. We are too poor in good scientific material to allow a man to retire when he can do good work.

26. May I express to you my grateful thanks for the message of good wishes that you sent on my birthday? I have been overwhelmed with these good wishes from all over the country and abroad and I have felt very humble in the face of this tremendous affection and confidence that has been expressed in me. No single man can be worthy of this affection. All I can say is, I shall try my utmost not to prove false to the confidence that has been

placed in me. But it is not I or any one else that can do much. It is we all of us, all over India, that can jointly do a great deal. May we all have the strength and wisdom to cooperate together in the great tasks ahead and to serve our country and humanity.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

II

New Delhi
December 6, 1948

My dear Premier,

Forgive me for the delay in writing to you. Work here has been very heavy and there is no promise of relief in the future either. Both the domestic and the international situation require constant vigilance. In addition we have the Constituent Assembly sitting from day to day and the coming annual session of the Congress at Jaipur.¹ I shall probably not be able to write to you, as usual, about the middle of the month as I shall be away in Jaipur then.

2. Foreign Affairs : The general situation in Europe continues tense, but it may be said to be less critical than it has been for some time past. Attempts are again being made to resolve the Berlin crisis.² I think that all the parties concerned are tired of this conflict in Berlin and are desirous of ending it. But prestige comes in the way as also some ultimate interest.

3. The most important developments in the international field have been the series of victories of the forces of Communist China. Reports of big battles occur in the newspapers, but there have hardly been any real battles on a big scale despite these reports. There has been a growing inner weakness in the National Government and troops have often walked over to the other side. The economic situation in China has been very bad and every effort made to better it has failed. We have little news of what is happening in the communist area, but it would appear that there is greater efficiency and integrity in the public administration there. It is true that they have not

1. The session was held from 16 to 19 December 1948.
2. Juan A. Bramuglia of Argentina, had proposed to the U.N. Security Council a plan for setting up a committee of experts from neutral countries to solve the currency deadlock in Berlin. This plan was accepted by the four powers.

had so far to face the problem of administering great cities. Knowing the difficulty of dealing with a great city, the Communists do not seem to be anxious to occupy any one of these. If they really wanted to, there is little doubt that they could reach Shanghai or Nanking. Ultimately they might do so, but they seem to be in no hurry and are more intent on consolidating their position.

4. The National Government may have to leave Nanking and the problem arose for us as to what our Embassy should do. We have decided that our Embassy should stay on in Nanking till further developments take place. That is also the decision of most of the other embassies in Nanking. No one knows what the consequences of the withdrawal of the National Government may be. It may result in a splitting of China into two major parts or, which is perhaps more likely, into one major Communist part and a number of other parts. In the course of its past history China has often been split up in this way. Unfortunately the National Government appears to have ceased to be national in any real sense of the word. It represents only some particular groups and many other groups which are anti-Communist do not now support the National Government. These groups are beginning to think that almost anything is better than the continuation of the present state of affairs.

5. The leaders of the Communists in China are able and experienced men as they have shown in the way they have built up their territories. Their policy appears to be to form what they call a coalition government for China. that is to say a Government in which other elements, including some Kuomintang elements will be represented. This Government would inevitably be dominated by the Communists. Probably the Communist leaders will not put forward any remarkably communist policy to begin with, but will try to consolidate on some other level, to some extent as they have done in the other regions under their control. Later further developments might take place.

6. As things are it appears almost inevitable that a great part of China will come under the control of the Communists. They will immediately introduce far-reaching agrarian reforms and try to build up industry. In Manchuria they have an industrial set up which the Japanese had built up. Another area of China which is eminently suited for industrial development is the province of Yunnan which borders Burma and Siam.

7. The victory and consolidation of the Chinese Communists is going to have far-reaching results all over South East Asia and ultimately in the world. India will naturally be affected by it, though there is no reason to fear any direct conflict. The future of Tibet may become a subject for argument. Indo-China and Siam, both of which have large numbers of Chinese,

will be powerfully affected. So also Burma. In view of all these possibilities and probabilities, we have to watch this rapidly developing situation in China with great care and attention.

8. Another highly important development in Asia is taking place in Indonesia, where for some time past the Dutch have been threatening what they call police action. The Government of India have all along supported diplomatically the Indonesian Republic and have protested against the attitude of the Netherlands Government. When I was in London and Paris, I took up this matter specially with other Governments. I pointed out that if the Dutch took military action in Indonesia this would have the gravest consequences. No doubt the Dutch would gain military control of the greater part of the Republic, but they would have to face unceasing guerilla warfare of the bitterest kind. The result, however long-delayed, could only be the elimination of every Dutchman from Indonesia. It is inconceivable that Dutch colonial rule can continue for long in Indonesia.

9. I pointed out that the U.S.A. and the U.K. Governments would, to some extent, share in the unpopularity of the Dutch in Asia as it was generally believed that the Dutch would not take any military measures if the U.S.A. and the U.K. wanted to stop them. My arguments had some effect and I know that both the U.S.A. and the U.K. Governments brought considerable pressure to bear on the Dutch to refrain from any such action. I think it may be said that owing to India's insistence on this issue Dutch military action did not take place then or until now. It is however difficult to say what developments the future will bring. There are indications that the Dutch are on the verge of taking military steps and the last conference with the Indonesian Republic has broken down. The demand of the Dutch is practically for a surrender all along the line of the Indonesian Republic including the disbandment and disintegration of the Republican Army. That of course would put the Indonesians completely at the mercy of the Dutch and the Indonesian Government has refused to agree to this although it has agreed to most other Dutch proposals.

10. We have been in constant touch with the Indonesian Republican Government and I have invited President Soekarno to visit India if it is possible for him to leave his country at this critical stage. In this matter India has stood up before the world for the rights of Asian people and Asian countries and against a continuation of colonialism and imperialism. I regret to say that some of the Asian countries, have been lukewarm in this matter and have not hesitated to intrigue with other powers. That is a poor outlook for Asian un...¹

the rights in Indonesia of a Muslim people. That indicates more than any profession that we stand for national freedom apart from religion.

12. Recently the South West African issue came up before the United Nations. Here also India's attitude was a straightforward one championing the cause of the Africans and against the domination of the Union of South Africa over South West Africa.³ Again we saw that curious spectacle of some Asian countries, including some of the Arab countries and Turkey and Pakistan, wobbling on this issue and remaining neutral, or actually voting against the Indian proposition.⁴ I am quite sure that India's adherence to principle in these vital matters was the right course to adopt and will bear fruit both for the good of India and for the other peoples of Asia and Africa. India's prestige and reputation gradually but surely goes up in the eyes of the world though we may not succeed in any particular vote in the United Nations.

13. In Japan the sentence of death passed on Japanese war leaders⁵ has met with a great deal of adverse criticism in India. The Indian Judge on that Commission, Justice Pal,⁶ wrote a strong dissentient judgement.

3. On 16 November, the Indian delegation to the U.N. Trusteeship Committee moved a proposal to request the Government of South Africa "not to proceed with the measures amounting to the integration of South West Africa and to send a committee of inquiry to study the conditions in the formally mandated territory." Philippines, Burma, Cuba and Mexico were among strong supporters of the Indian resolution. The amendment was lost by one vote with 11 abstentions. India opposed the main resolution passed by the U.N. General Assembly on 26 November which called upon South Africa to report to the U.N. periodically about conditions in South West Africa and which also expressed its satisfaction over the assurance given by South Africa that it had no intention of annexing South West Africa. India's criticism was that as the resolution did not take into account the fears expressed by the people of Namibia (South West Africa), it was therefore weak.

4. The countries which abstained from voting on the Indian amendment were Bolivia, Egypt, El Salvador, Ethiopia, Iraq, Lebanon, Pakistan, Panama, Poland, Saudi Arabia and Syria. The Afghan delegate was absent. Those voting against included Austria, U.K. and U.S.A.

5. On 12 November 1948, the former Prime Minister of Japan, Hideki Tojo, and 24 others were sentenced to death for war crimes by the International Military Tribunal set up by eleven nations in Tokyo. On 22 December 1948, Tojo and 6 other Japanese leaders were hanged while the sentences of the remaining 18 were commuted to imprisonment lasting over 400 days.

6. Justice Pal observed : "when time shall have softened passion and prejudice, when reason shall have stripped the mask of representation, then justice, holding evenly her scales, will require much of past censure and praise to change places. . . We may not altogether ignore the possibility that perhaps responsibility did not lie only with the defeated soldiers.. I can not condemn Tojo and other Japanese leaders who might have thought of protecting their race by inculcating their racial superiority in the youthful mind... I would hold that each and everyone of the accused must be found 'not guilty' of each and everyone of the charges in the indictment and should be acquitted of all charges."

That judgement gave expression to many opinions and theories with which the Government of India could not associate itself. Justice Pal was of course not functioning in the Commission as a representative of the Government of India but as an eminent judge in his individual capacity. Nevertheless most of us have felt that it is unfortunate that death sentences should be passed at this stage on war leaders. We have felt however that an official protest would not do any good either to the persons concerned or to the cause we have at heart, and therefore we have not intervened officially.

14. In Burma the Land Nationalisation Act has hit Indian interests in land hard.⁷ We have been continually pressing the Burmese Government to make some changes in this Act, but without any success so far.⁸ It is now proposed with the consent of the Burma Government, to send a deputation, headed by Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramayya, to Burma in the last week of December. This Commission will discuss the matter with the Burmese Government.

15. Although the attitude of the Burmese Government has been unyielding thus far we must recognise that they are facing a most difficult situation in their own country. There is rebellion and disorder and they cannot easily take any step which may weaken their position with the general public. They are a Government committed to socialist policies.⁹ I must say also that the Prime Minister Thakin Nu has taken special pains to explain to us the position in regard to this matter and other matters in Burma. He sent one of his ministers, U Win, specially to Delhi¹⁰ to place their viewpoint before us and to invite our delegation to go there.

16. You must have seen the correspondence that was published in regard to the Ceylon citizenship bill.¹¹ I regret that no agreement could be arrived at between our Government and that of Ceylon. There the matter stands at

7. The Land Nationalisation Act of Burma (1948), a sweeping measure to liquidate Indian landed interests in Burma, was passed on 11 October 1948. It prohibited non-cultivating landowners from possessing more than 50 acres of land and sale of land in areas designated by government notification, and fixed the compensation payable for the excess or saleable land at a meagre rate.
8. Indians owned at that time about three million acres of land in Burma valued approximately at Rs. 90 crores. The Government of India suggested amendments in the Act providing for higher rate of compensation payable in India through negotiable bonds.
9. On 26 May 1948 a fifteen-point programme for leftist unity was announced by the Burmese Premier, Thakin Nu.
10. On 29-30 November 1948.
11. The Bill proposed conditions for citizenship which were regarded as highly discriminatory against the Indian settlers in Sri Lanka. The Sri Lankan Government's reluctance to amend the Bill had led to the release, on 26 November, of the correspondence between the two Governments. The Bill was, however, passed on 21 January 1949.

present and the Ceylon Government is proceeding with this bill. Perhaps some changes might be made in it at a latter stage. There are certainly strong elements in Ceylon, even apart from the Indians, who want a cordial and close relationship between India and Ceylon.

17. In our dealings with our neighbour countries like Burma and Ceylon we have always to keep in mind two factors. One of course is to protect Indian interests; the other is our long-distance policy of being friendly with these countries. We are the big brother and we have to proceed a little-gently so as not to create barriers in the way of future cooperation. At the same time we cannot accept any wrong done to Indian citizens.

18. In Ceylon the additional difficulty arises because we are dealing with Indians who claim to be Ceylonese citizens. As such we have little right to speak, for we cannot speak for the citizens of another country which is independent. We can only speak in terms of human rights and friendly relations between the two countries.

19. You will have read the statement made on behalf of the Government of India in regard to the Republic of Ireland Bill which puts an end to any formal association between Eire and the United Kingdom and the Commonwealth.¹² In common with other Commonwealth countries, we have declared that we are prepared to continue certain reciprocal rights of citizenship to Eire and that we shall not consider it a foreign country provided Eire treats us likewise. As you know there has been a strong sentiment in India in favour of Eire, for we have long been common sufferers under alien domination. It was thus very easy for us to give the assurance that we did and we have had an expression of gratitude of the Eire Government. The present position of Eire vis-a-vis the Commonwealth is rather peculiar. No one can say what it is in strict constitutional language. The matter remains fluid at present. It is not a Commonwealth country and it is not a foreign country with the Commonwealth.

20. India and Commonwealth: This leads me to the question of India's relationship to the Commonwealth about which I wrote to you in my last letter. No particular development has taken place since then because the matter is not free from difficulty on either side. Certain misapprehensions however may well be removed. There is no question of giving any special trading or economics rights to the Commonwealth countries by virtue of any possible Commonwealth association. Even now we are not tied down to giving any such rights, much less will that be so when we are a Republic. It must be clearly understood that we tie ourselves to nothing in the shape of rights or obligations, except such as may flow from mutual and reciprocal

12. On 26 November 1948. See *post*, section 11, sub-section VII, item 4.

arrangements between any two Commonwealth countries. The position remains what I have already told you. India is a completely independent country without any limitation. At the same time a certain association of some free countries takes place because it is felt that this will be to India's advantage as well as the world's. We are not tied down to any policy. No citizen of the Indian Republic would bear any allegiance to any foreign authority, King or other. Our allegiance will be to India alone. That has been the approach. But it is not yet clear how things will shape themselves.

21. United Nations: I have already referred to the activities of the Indian Delegation in regard to South West Africa. The question of Indians in South Africa has not yet come up before the U.N. and it is rather doubtful if it will be raised during this session.

22. The Kashmir Commission's Report was presented to the Security Council and has been published.¹³ The Report is a factual one not unfavourable to us, but not making any particular recommendations. Subsequent developments on this issue have not been very satisfactory. An attempt is being made to find out some general formula for a possible plebiscite in the distant future. Our position is that the first thing that should be done is to give effect to the Commission's resolution of withdrawal of Pakistan armies from Kashmir State. Till that happens the other questions can hardly be dealt with. We are of course committed to the future of Kashmir being decided by the people of Kashmir State and we shall stand by that.

23. Military developments in Kashmir, though not major in any sense, have had important consequences. We have practically freed the Ladakh valley of the enemy and we have captured Menthār, thus establishing a road-link with Poonch city. These were not major operations but they did involve great skill in engineering and staff work and our army is to be congratulated. We had to undertake these operations to clear up our supply route to Leh and Poonch, which latter city had been cut off. There has been a great deal of shouting by representatives of Pakistan in the United Nations about these operations and there was some debate in the Security Council.¹⁴ We have made it clear to the Security Council that we have strictly abided by every assurance that we have given and that obviously till there is a truce we must protect ourselves from aggression. In view of the winter setting in there is not likely to be any substantial military operation in Kashmir.

13. Published on 24 November 1948.

14. The Security Council met on 25 November 1948 to consider the appeal of the Pakistan Foreign Minister for some immediate action to avoid "an armed conflict of the most serious magnitude" between Pakistan and India over Kashmir. It was alleged that the Indian Army had started "an all out offensive to obtain possession of western Kashmir."

State for some months. Our armies there have had a hard time and a great part of it has served continuously, under the most difficult conditions, for over a year. We have now been relieving some of our forces and giving them much needed respite.

24. The Security Council has also had before it Pakistan's complaint about Hyderabad. After making our position clear we have withdrawn our special representative for this issue. We do not recognise that any matter has arisen which can be considered by the Security Council in regard to Hyderabad. I must confess that we have been disappointed at the attitude taken up by some of the representatives of the powers. Pakistan's record in Hyderabad has been shown to be a bad one. Large sums of money have passed to them from Hyderabad and for months past they intrigued and misled the Nizam and others in Hyderabad.

25. You will have noticed that two important International Conferences have recently been held—one of them is still going on—in Delhi. These are the Meteorological Conference¹⁵ and the Civil Aviation Conference,¹⁶ both for the Far East and the South East Asia Region. India is becoming an important centre of such international activities.

26. At the present moment the Asian Regional meeting of the E.C.A. F.E. is taking place in Australia.¹⁷ Our representatives are attending it.

27. Indo-Pakistan Relations: At the present moment also an Inter-Dominion Conference between India and Pakistan is taking place in New Delhi.¹⁸ There are a vast number of subjects before this and a multitude of complaints on either side. The principal subject however is that of the exodus of refugees from East Bengal to West Bengal. The Prime Minister of Pakistan has recently visited East Bengal. On the whole his visit appears to have had some soothing effect. The question of this exodus is a most important one for us, and we are giving the closest attention to it. It is vitally necessary that this exodus should be stopped both from short-distance point of view and a long-distance point. It is true that the stoppage of this exodus depends very largely on the policy of the Pakistan Government in East Bengal and elsewhere. It also depends to some extent on economic causes. I hope that the Inter-Dominion Conference will lead to a lessening of fric-

15. Nehru inaugurated the Asian Commission of the International Meteorological Organisation at New Delhi on 10 November 1948. See *post*, section 11, sub-section I, item 14.

16. The South East Asia Regional Air Navigation Meeting of the International Civil Aviation Organisation was inaugurated by Nehru at New Delhi on 23 November 1948. See *post*, section 11, sub-section I, item 16.

17. Held at Lapstone in New South Wales, Australia, from 29 November to 11 December 1948.

18. Held from 6 to 14 December 1948. See *ante*, p. 9.

tion between the two countries and an improvement in the Bengal situation. In any event we must do everything in our power, on our side, to lessen the urge for this exodus. There is often a great deal of loose talk on this subject which does no good to anybody and actually encourages the exodus. That must be avoided. In particular the Press must be requested to avoid saying anything which adds to friction and the fear complex on either side.

28. Among other subjects to be discussed at this Conference are, financial dues, disputes about military stores and certain boundary disputes in Bengal. It is proposed to make the implementation of any Inter-Dominion Agreement a Dominion matter. This will avoid delay and bring about quick decisions and implementation. Secondly, that a monthly meeting of one Dominion Minister of each State should take place to consider implementation. Thirdly, that a Press Committee should be formed to exercise some control in regard to writings about Inter-Dominion matters.

29. I might inform you that the status of High Commissioners has now been raised and corresponds to that of Ambassadors. Thus our High Commissioners in Commonwealth countries have the status of Ambassadors and vice-versa.

30. The Constituent Assembly is proceeding with the Draft Constitution but the pace of progress is exceedingly slow. We had hoped that the Constitution will be finalised early in January and that we can celebrate the passage of the new Constitution on January 26. But that hardly seems feasible now.

31. The question of the rehabilitation of refugees had tended in past months to be considered as a somewhat routine matter. The Cabinet has decided that this must be viewed as top priority and has appointed a special Committee of its own to supervise its work. It is highly important that we should have the fullest cooperation between the Central, Provincial and State Governments. I would beg of you to help us in this. The longer this question continues unsolved the greater our difficulties and our expenditure, apart from the human tragedy involved.

32. I regret that the inflationary position has not shown any marked improvement. I do hope that your Government will take every step to check this inflation and to see that the new controls are effectively worked. Every delay in this worsens the situation. I find that the Cloth Control has not been effective at all and mischief makers continue to profit at the expense of the nation and the community. This must be stopped.

33. This inflation compels us to cut down every expenditure that is not vital. It is a matter of deep grief to me that some of our schemes and projects have to be given up or postponed, but there is no help for it for we must

fight this inflation. A Priorities Committee of the Cabinet has been set up to deal with all development schemes from this point of view.

34. I regret that some people have been encouraging a general strike on the part of railwaymen.¹⁹ Any more irresponsible advice at this stage I can hardly imagine. With all my sympathy for labour and my desire to help it, I just do not see how a strike can achieve this object. It can achieve only one object and that is to add to our difficulties, to worsen the economic situation, to delay transport to important theatres of activities in Kashmir and thus upset our plans there, and, what is perhaps the worst of all, to create a cleavage between railwaymen and the rest of the community. It is obvious that the general public will view with dismay and irritation any attempt to have a general strike. I trust therefore that people who are concerned with this matter will act with a full sense of responsibility.

35. We have received numerous warnings about the activities of the R.S.S. and their intention to start Satyagraha in the near future, possibly at the time of the Congress session in Jaipur when many of our Ministers and others will be away from their headquarters. For the R.S.S. to talk of Satyagraha is rather a contradiction in terms, because the R.S.S. is about as far removed from the spirit of Satyagraha as any organisation can be. The R.S.S. has been essentially a secret organisation with a public facade, having no rules of membership, no registers, no accounts, although large sums are collected. They do not believe in peaceful methods or in Satyagraha. What they say in public is entirely opposed to what they do in private. Every provincial government has had plenty of experience of their activities. One does not mind or at any rate one accepts an opponent. But it is distressing that any organisation consisting of large numbers of young men, should be so utterly little-minded and lacking in not only vision but in commonsense or common understanding. The R.S.S. is typical in this respect of the type of organisation that grew up in various parts of Europe in support of fascism. It attracts people, essentially from the lower middle class, many of them frustrated, many of them with vague ideas and little thought behind them.

36. It is clear that we cannot put up with any challenge from the R.S.S. and the sooner this is finally realised by the R.S.S. and others the better. If so, each provincial government must be wide awake and take necessary action at the earliest moment it considers necessary.

37. The question of zamindari abolition has become a difficult legal

19. On 25 November 1948 at a meeting held at Nagpur, under the chairmanship of Jayaprakash Narayan, the All India Railwaymen's Federation directed its affiliated unions to take a strike ballot and report by 29 January 1949.

and constitutional one.²⁰ It affects indeed even the Constitution that we are framing. Various legal interpretations have made it difficult for us to think of it in practical terms unless the law is revised or that interpretation is changed. It is clear that we as a Government or as the Congress cannot put aside this abolition of zamindaries which has been a main plank in our platform for many years. Some way has to be found and that also speedily, or else we shall be discredited and there will be legitimate complaint against us.

38. There has been a good deal of wild talk amongst some Sikh leaders in East Punjab and elsewhere about Sikh rights.²¹ Claims are made which go completely counter to our declared policy and which are based entirely on an acceptance of communalism.²² We have said little on this subject because we wish to avoid needless public controversy, and because Government's position has been quite clear. I should like to repeat here that on no account and whatever the consequences, we are going to accept communalism in this shape in our Constitution or elsewhere. It is a matter of deep regret to me that some Sikh leaders have become so completely irresponsible as to talk in the language of threat. The Sikh community is a brave and gallant one forming an integral part of this India of ours. In the past they have been grievously misled and they have suffered greatly because of this. This business of misleading them still continues and I fear that if it is not checked there will be trouble for them and for us. But on this question of principle in regard to introducing communalism in our constitutional structure there is going to be no compromise and no giving in on our part. That is exactly what led to Pakistan and all the trouble that followed. It is a strange irony of fate that there should be any person in India, who now puts forward a claim that the old Muslim League used to put forward.

20. To forestall any challenge by the zamindars of the zamindari abolition bills in the courts on the plea that the rate of compensation provided was grossly inadequate, the Constituent Assembly sought to give to the legislatures the final authority for fixing the rate of compensation and to keep the Acts out of the purview of the courts.
21. On 28 November 1948, Master Tara Singh said: "the Congress decision not to recognise religious minorities was nothing but an attack on the Sikhs' very existence". He added that though he favoured negotiations, he had no alternative but to resort to agitation.
22. The Minority Committee of the East Punjab Legislature had demanded that the Constituent Assembly should provide for the Sikhs five per cent representation in the Union Legislature and the services; two ministerial positions at the Centre with one minister of Cabinet rank; 50% seats in the East Punjab legislature and the provincial services; a Governor and the Chief Minister in the province by rotation; recognition of the backward classes among the Sikhs as Scheduled Castes; redemarcation of the constituencies in Punjab to give weightage to Sikhs' recognition to Gurmukhi as the official language; and exclusion of the Hindi-speaking areas from East Punjab to form a separate province of the Punjabi-speaking people.

LETTERS TO THE PREMIERS OF PROVINCES

39. The language question has been the subject of great argument. I do not wish to deal with it in its larger aspects, but one aspect I should like to stress. It should be the fundamental policy of the State to encourage primary education in the mother tongue of the child whatever it may be, provided of course there are sufficient children to take advantage of this. This has little to do with what the State language or what the provincial languages are. For instance, if there are a considerable number of Tamil children in Calcutta or Bombay, they have a right to be given primary education in Tamil by the State. At a slightly later stage, the official provincial or State language must of course be taught to them. But it would be wrong and against generally accepted principles that they should be forced to go through their primary education in a language which is alien for them. This may involve, in great cities, the State running its primary schools in a variety of languages. This can only be done with recognised Indian language and when there are sufficient number of children who demand it. I think if this principle was understood some of our linguistic conflicts would cease. We may not be able to give effect to this principle straight off. Nevertheless it must be accepted as the only right method.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

10

INDIA AND THE COMMONWEALTH

1. At the Commonwealth Conference¹

Pandit Nehru said he was grateful for the welcome² extended to himself and to his delegation. He had long looked forward to the participation of a free India at a meeting of Commonwealth Prime Ministers. He had many old friends amongst those present, and he hoped that more friendships would be forged during his stay. India was engrossed at the present time in problems consequent upon her new status but he recognised that these could not be studied or dealt with in isolation. Already he had felt an atmosphere of friendship and goodwill, which could be more important than logical argument. If this atmosphere could be more freely applied to the problems of the world, they would be nearer to solution than they were now. He hoped for the success of the Conference, and on behalf of the Indian Government expressed his appreciation for the opportunity of these discussions with the other members of the Commonwealth.

1. Minutes of the first session of the Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference, London, 11 October 1948. J.N. Papers, N.M.M.L. Extracts.
2. C.R. Attlee, Prime Minister of the United Kingdom, had offered a special welcome to the Prime Ministers of India, Pakistan and Sri Lanka whose countries were for the first time being represented at a meeting of the Commonwealth Prime Ministers.

2. Cable to Vallabhbhai Patel¹

I have had a number of talks with various British Ministers as well as Commonwealth Premiers about India and Commonwealth. I have pointed out that we must proceed on basis of India having Republican Constitution. Subject to this, we were prepared to consider some link with Commonwealth. This link might be on basis of Commonwealth nationality on reciprocal footing. This would involve India in dual nationality which is rather novel. On the whole, talks have been friendly and our approach has been appreciated. There will be some further talks. I have pointed out that final decision must rest with our Constituent Assembly.

1. London, 18 October 1948. J.N.Collection.

This question has not been discussed in the conference but only informally and separately.

Some British Ministers have mentioned South African-Indian question² and expressed hopes of settlement. They recognise, however, that present opportunity not suitable for such talks. In course of talks about India and Commonwealth, I have mentioned to British Ministers that while I did not wish to bring in South African issue in this connection, nevertheless this was a vital matter for us and will have to be considered separately.

During brief visit to Paris, I had long talks with Marshall and Vyshinsky. Also met French President³ and Foreign Minister⁴ and many other delegates to United Nations. Intend returning to Paris early next week and spend one week there. On way back, propose spending two days at Cairo.⁵ Hope to reach Bombay sixth November.

2. The Nationalist Government of D.F. Malan adopted the following measures affecting Indians in South Africa: (i) repeal of the second chapter, which dealt with limited franchise for Indians, of the Asiatic Land Tenure and Indian Representation Act in October 1948, (ii) appointments of two committees for tightening up the provisions of this Act in Natal and Transvaal, (iii) proposal for a commission for introducing legislation regarding property ownership and occupation of Asiatics in the Cape Province, and (iv) introduction of segregation in the Cape suburban railways.
3. Vincent Auriol.
4. Robert Schuman.
5. Nehru arrived in Cairo on 4 November.

3. Need for Frequent Consultations¹

Pandit Nehru accepted the general principles outlined in P.M.M. (48)^{9,2} and supported the suggestion that there should be flexibility in their application.

1. Minutes of the seventh meeting of the Commonwealth Prime Ministers, London, 18 October 1948. J.N. Papers, N.M.M.L. Extracts.
2. Attlee desired that the Commonwealth High Commissioners should be accorded a high place in the order of precedence in the countries to which they were accredited.

Pandit Nehru expressed general agreement with Mr. Attlee's proposals.³ Three years was, however, a long time to look ahead in a rapidly changing world; he would prefer to say that meetings of Prime Ministers should be held as often as possible. Ministers of External Affairs—a portfolio often held by the Prime Minister—might find it difficult to meet as often as twice a year, but they should certainly do so whenever possible.

Regional conferences were desirable, although it was sometimes difficult, particularly in foreign affairs, to treat any problem as of purely regional interest. Moreover, regional problems would often concern nations which were not members of the Commonwealth. In any joint consultations about South East Asia, India would wish, for instance, to see Burma included;⁴ but if she were included, the meeting would cease to be a purely Commonwealth affair. In economic affairs frequent meetings were desirable, though it had to be remembered that Commonwealth Governments were responsible to sovereign parliaments.

High Commissioners should certainly have free access to Ministers of the Governments in whose countries they were stationed; and everything possible should be done to ensure that Commonwealth Governments were consulted while there was still time for their views to be taken into account.

3. Attlee emphasised the need for more frequent regional discussions and personal contacts between Commonwealth countries concerned with specific problems. Such meetings of Prime Ministers at intervals of two or three years and Ministers for foreign and economic affairs once or twice a year should be supplemented with written communications and regular personal contacts between High Commissioners in London and officials of the U.K. Government. Attlee further suggested that the existing Sterling Area Statistical Committee and Commonwealth Liaison Committee be reconstituted as one central committee with broader terms of reference and Commonwealth representatives to serve as a forum for exchanging views on common issues.
4. Attlee had remarked that: "... problems of economic development in South East Asia might well be discussed by representatives of the United Kingdom, Australia, New Zealand, India, Pakistan and Ceylon."

4. Consultations on Defence¹

Mr. Nehru, Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan and Mr. Senanayake also made the point that their Governments were anxious for close consultation in defence matters. Mr. Attlee said that this was also the desire of the United Kingdom Government.

1. Minutes of the thirteenth meeting of the Commonwealth Prime Ministers, London, 21 October 1948. J.N. Papers, N.M.M.L. Extracts.

5. To V.K. Krishna Menon¹

Paris

28 October 1948

My dear Krishna,

I enclose the slightly revised draft.² B.N. Rau, Bajpai and I have produced this. You will notice that there is no change in substance. Please give it or send it to Attlee.

I enclose also a copy of a letter which the Nizam sent to Rajaji. This might interest Attlee. The propaganda carried on by the Pakistan papers (*Dawn* etc.) about atrocities in Hyderabad is completely baseless.³ It is really astonishing to what depth of falsehood they can sink.

I think it will be a good thing if you could come over to Paris for a final talk, say on Sunday. But suit your convenience.

Yours,
Jawaharlal

1. V.K. Krishna Menon Papers, N.M.M.L.

2. See the following item.

3. See *ante*, section 3, items, 7, 10 & 11.

6. A Ten-Point Memorandum¹

The following has emerged as a result of consideration and discussion of the problem of Commonwealth relations. It appears to me that an arrangement on the basis set out below is what is practicable and adequate at present and will be to our mutual interest.

Constitutional Provisions :

1. The declaration as to the status of India will be left as at present in the draft Constitution.
2. In the appropriate place in the Indian Constitution, probably in the provision on Repeals, it will be enacted that the Indian Independence Act 1947 is repealed in as far as it is inconsistent with the provisions of the Constitution.

1. Memorandum sent to the Prime Minister of U.K. This was jointly drafted by Nehru, G.S. Bajpai and B.N. Rau, 28 October 1948. J.N. Collection.

3. Either in the Constitution, or in a separate Nationality Act passed contemporaneously, there will be incorporated the substance of the relevant provisions of the United Kingdom Nationality Act² which will have the effect of making Indian nationals Commonwealth citizens, and the nationals of any Commonwealth country Commonwealth citizens when they are in India. This arrangement will thus be on a reciprocal basis.

4. As soon as the constitutional changes are settled, or at such other time as may be agreed upon, the Prime Minister of India and the Prime Minister of the United Kingdom will make declarations announcing the changes and their nature and results.

Arrangements outside the Constitution :

5. The King as the first Citizen of the Commonwealth will be the fountain of honour so far as the Commonwealth as a whole is concerned. It does not appear that any legislative or constitutional enactment is called for in respect of this matter. Understandings and administrative arrangements may be reached or made.

6. In any new legislation, or new treaties entered into with other countries, the Commonwealth countries will not be treated as Foreign States and their citizens will not be treated as Foreigners.

In particular, in any new commercial treaties it will be made clear that for the purposes of the "most favoured nation" clause the Commonwealth countries are in a special position and are not regarded as Foreign States.

7. In Foreign States where the Indian Government has no representation, it will be at liberty to make use of any other Commonwealth country's ambassador or Minister; and the Indian Government will be willing to provide reciprocal facilities for any other Commonwealth Government that so desires.

8. For the purpose of fulfilling the obligations of the Crown towards Commonwealth citizens other than Indian nationals the President of the Indian Republic may at the request of the Crown act on behalf of the King within the territories of India. A similar arrangement on a reciprocal basis will apply to Indian nationals in the rest of the Commonwealth.

9. So far as the United Kingdom is concerned it appears to be the position that the King waived his rights of appointment etc., and, generally speaking, all the functions of sovereignty in favour of the people of India in virtue of the Act of 1947. Since there will be no further legislation on India so far as the

2. The main principle of this Act was that the people of self-governing countries within the British Commonwealth had a particular status as citizens of their own country and a common status of British subjects. Accordingly, the key clause of the Act provided that every person who under the Act was a citizen of the U.K. and colonies, or who under the law of any of the units of the Commonwealth namely Canada, Australia, New Zealand, South Africa, Newfoundland, India, Pakistan, Southern Rhodesia and Ceylon, was a citizen of that unit should, by virtue of that citizenship be a British subject.

United Kingdom is concerned, this will continue to be the position and the Indian people and their representatives (such as the President of the Republic) will exercise all functions of sovereignty.

General :

10. These proposals represent a sincere desire to continue the Commonwealth association and what is practicable and adequate at present. No doubt as the relationship is not a static arrangement, further development by way of association may take place.

11. The Prime Minister of India will discuss the problem and the above proposals with his colleagues directly on his return to India with a view to communicating with the Prime Minister of the United Kingdom proposals as from the Government of India. It will be for the United Kingdom Government to make such approaches as appear appropriate to the other parties concerned for such consents or acquiescences as may be deemed necessary.³

3. Attlee referred this memorandum to his law officers for their comments.

7. The Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference¹

Voluminous papers on a variety of subjects were circulated during the Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Meeting in London. A full record is available for consultation. These papers contain :

- (1) Minutes of the Commonwealth Meetings.
- (2) Defence Questions.
- (3) Japanese problems and the future of the Pacific.
- (4) The general economic situation and the European Recovery Programme.
- (5) Machinery for consultation between Commonwealth Governments.
- (6) The situation in South East Asia.
- (7) Precedence of Commonwealth High Commissioners.
- (8) Ceylon's application for membership of the United Nations Organization.
- (9) Eire in the Commonwealth.

1. Note to the Cabinet, New Delhi, 6 November 1948. J.N. Collection.

- (10) British Nationality Act.
 - (11) Planning in United Kingdom.
2. All these papers are far too voluminous for circulation among Members of the Cabinet and probably all of them are not of great interest to all members. Some of them will no doubt be of special interest to some members. For instance, the papers dealing with the economic programme of the U.K. and the general European recovery programme will no doubt be of interest to the Finance Minister and perhaps some other ministers. Defence papers will be of interest for the Defence Minister and the Defence Department.
3. No commitments of any kind were made at the conference on behalf of India. All that was done was the expression of a wish that there should be full consultation and, wherever possible, cooperation.
4. A note was drawn up by the Conference on the question of Commonwealth consultation. This was provisionally agreed to, subject to the approval of the respective governments. This matter will therefore have to be considered by the Cabinet and the Government of India's views communicated to the U.K. Government.
5. The relation of India to the Commonwealth was not considered at the Conference at all. But there were private talks between me and the Prime Ministers of the other Commonwealth countries. This matter will also have to be considered separately by Cabinet.
6. The Secretary-General has written a note on the Commonwealth Conference which will be circulated to all members of the Cabinet. This deals concisely with the subjects discussed at the Conference.²
7. As all these matters concern various governments, it was agreed to that secrecy should be observed and no publicity should be given to any matter until final decisions had been taken after consultation with the various governments concerned, when simultaneous publication would be arranged.
8. The two points for consideration by the Cabinet are therefore :
- (1) Commonwealth Consultation.
 - (2) India's relation to the Commonwealth.

2. Bajpai had reported on the discussions at the meetings held from 11 to 22 October 1948 covering the following subjects : (i) international relations with particular reference to the Soviet Union; (ii) future of Germany; (iii) Japanese problems and the future of the Pacific; (iv) Commonwealth interest in collaboration with Western Europe; (v) general economic situation and the European Recovery Programme; (vi) development of the economic resources of the Commonwealth; (vii) defence questions; (viii) machinery for consultations between Commonwealth Governments; (ix) precedence of Commonwealth High Commissioners; (x) situation in South East Asia (Burma, Indonesia and Malaya); and (xi) Sri Lanka's membership of the U.N.

9. In regard to the latter it is clear that the decision will have to be made by the Constituent Assembly at some stage. The matter is too vital and has naturally aroused a great deal of public attention, for it to be disposed off without full reference to the Constituent Assembly in some form or other. To begin with, however, it is for the Cabinet to consider it.

10. It is desirable that some reply in regard to both the questions mentioned above should be sent within a fortnight or so. If a reference to the Constituent Assembly is not feasible within this period, then a provisional reply on behalf of the Government can be sent.

8. Links with the Commonwealth¹

I have not committed myself on any issue discussed either at the conference or in my personal talks with Prime Minister Attlee. I assure the Party that the Objectives Resolution of the Constituent Assembly stands and that India will be declared a "sovereign democratic republic." A link with the United Kingdom and other Commonwealth countries is desirable as in these days no country can profitably live in isolation. All members of the Party should keep in view what I have told them on my London visit while deciding the question of future relationship between India and the U.K.

The Indian delegation to the U.N.O. is doing good work. Though sometimes resolutions moved by the Indian delegation are rejected, the delegation is respected and consulted on important issues. Although there was talk of war I do not think that war will break out soon, as there is no military preparedness.

1. Report to the Congress Party members in the Constituent Assembly, 7 November 1948. From *National Herald*, 8 November 1948.

9. To V.K. Krishna Menon¹

New Delhi
November 11, 1948

My dear Krishna,

I have just sent you a reply to your telegram of the 11th November.² I am sorry I have not written since my return. There were two reasons for this. One that I have been exceedingly busy. Apart from the normal problems one has to face, there has been an accumulation because of my absence. Also I did not write to you because I hoped to write more positively about reactions to the paper on India and the Commonwealth. I now find that it will take some time before I can do so.

Thus far we have had one full discussion in Cabinet on this paper and I have also spoken to the Congress Party in the legislature, which means eighty to ninety per cent of the members of the Constituent Assembly. I spoke generally at the Party meeting without referring to the paper. The main point I mentioned was that of Commonwealth nationality. There was no discussion in the Party meeting and it was decided to take the matter up later after people had given some thought to it. In both Cabinet and the Party meeting there appeared to be some hesitation and some suspicion as to what all these might lead us to. Still I think that there will be no great difficulty in getting it through both.

I propose also to discuss the principles underlying this paper with the Congress Working Committee which is meeting soon. I shall not go into details with them.

If the response of all these three places is favourable then I shall communicate to you and ask you to inform Attlee. I do not propose to place the matter formally in any shape or form before the Constituent Assembly till I hear more definitely about the U.K. Government's attitude as well as the reactions of the Dominions.

I have received a note from the Canadian High Commissioner³ conveying to me the Canadian Government's views on the recommendations of

1. V.K. Krishna Menon Papers, N.M.M.L.

2. Krishna Menon requested Nehru to reply to his note of 7 November 1948 on Kashmir. For Nehru's comments see *ante*, pp. 45-46.

3. John D. Kearney (b. 1893); served in World War I, 1914-18; High Commissioner in Ireland, 1941-45; Minister to Norway and Denmark, 1945-46; High Commissioner to India, 1946-49; Ambassador to Argentina, 1949-51.

the Conference regarding Commonwealth consultation.⁵ These views are more or less in line with the views prevailing here. There is a fear here that all this frequent consultation about defence, etc., might not tie us up too much with the system of blocs and alliances. We should like to guard ourselves against this. The real question however is not one of Commonwealth consultation but of the link between India and the Commonwealth.

I have not received yet the note on Kashmir which you say you sent by hand on the 7th November. I do not know who has brought it. Perhaps it may come in a day or two.

About Hyderabad, I have sent you a telegram that any newspapermen can visit it at any time they like. There has been an open invitation to the various journalists here and some have gone from time to time. It is curious that they do not seem to be very eager to go now probably because they think that nothing special is happening there. They imagine that because of the Constituent Assembly here and my return, Delhi is a more important centre.

Indu and her children were in Allahabad, all of them suffering from whooping cough which is a distressing business. They came today to Delhi. Chandrakanta and Tara also came here today from Bombay. The children are now a little better but she has not shown much improvement.

Yours,
Jawaharlal

5. The Canadian Government agreed to regular consultation by Ministers to discuss foreign affairs but found a definite time-table impracticable. Such meetings should be held as and when desirable and their value measured by results. Though Canada was ready to exchange information for preservation of peace it would be unreal to contemplate military planning on any basis that would not extend beyond Commonwealth nations. They said that decisions on foreign policy and defence were made by their Cabinet and not by military officers or by individual members or by representatives in another country.

10. Cable to V.K. Krishna Menon¹

Your telegram 2243 dated 11th November, I have not yet received your note on Kashmir of 7th November sent by hand.²

1. New Delhi, 12 November 1948. J.N.Collection.
2. See *ante*, section 2, sub-section I, item 7.

Since my return here I have been overwhelmed by work and many problems. I have already placed recommendations of Premiers Conference as well as paper on India and Commonwealth before Cabinet.³ I have also reported generally to meeting of Congress Party of Legislature. Further discussions will take place within next few days. Reaction appears generally favourable but nevertheless critical.

3. See *ante*, item 7.

11. To V.K. Krishna Menon¹

New Delhi
November 16, 1948

My dear Krishna,

You enquired about Dr. Mende,² the representative of the Hungarian Government. He is getting on quite well here. I have met him in my office and he and his wife have come to lunch in my house. He is going away to Pakistan for a few days and will then return to Delhi. Later he intends going to Calcutta, Madras and Bombay. I believe he is satisfied with his visit. There will be no difficulty about his movements in India.

We have been discussing in the Cabinet the memorandum about India in the Commonwealth.³ There has been a good deal of criticism of it and I imagine that there would be even more public criticism, if it was published. On the whole the approach is approved of, but objection has been taken to paragraph 2. It is suggested that no reference be made to the Indian Independence Act here. It is also the general opinion that the provisions about Commonwealth citizenship should be contained in a separate Nationality Act passed contemporaneously with the Constitution. Further the words "Fountain of Honour" in paragraph 5 are not liked. We have no objection to this being said by the other Commonwealth countries, but for us to make the proposal when we are opposed to this business of titles etc., would be strongly objected.

For the rest there was some apprehension lest this new arrangements might lead to some discrimination in favour of Britishers etc., in regard to commercial and economic relations, which might be injurious to India.

1. V.K. Krishna Menon Papers, N.M.M.L.
2. Mende conducted some marketing research in India in 1948-49 on behalf of the Hungarian Minister for Commerce and Cooperation. He took part in the elaboration of the first barter agreement between India and Hungary. Mende met Nehru on 13 November 1948 and their discussions contributed to the establishing of diplomatic relations between India and Hungary.
3. See *ante*, item 6.

I am merely communicating to you some general lines of discussion. The matter will be considered more fully soon, when I hope to write to you more about it.

Thank you for your telegram of good wishes on my birthday. Please also convey my thanks to your officers and staff.

Yours,
Jawaharlal

12. Cable to V.K. Krishna Menon¹

Bajpai's telegram 187-D dated 18th November.

I appreciate what Evatt,² Peter Fraser,³ Pearson⁴ and others have said about India's association with Commonwealth.⁵ I can understand their position and as desired by them I shall place their views before our Cabinet. I should like to say however that I am having some difficulties in regard to memorandum on this subject which I sent to Attlee. There is every desire for association and cooperation with Commonwealth countries but not only is "Republic" insisted upon but any derogation from that status would be strongly objected to in Constituent Assembly. I doubt very much if proposal made that authority to appoint Heads of Missions abroad should derive from the King will be accepted.⁶ Even reference to being Fountain of Honour is not liked. We have no objection to other Commonwealth countries describing him as such but for India which has decided to have no titles or honours of this kind to describe the King as Fountain of Honour is not appreciated here.

There is no reason why other Dominions should eliminate King as link of Commonwealth association. As King of Commonwealth he would remain as King of particular Dominions and at the same time first citizen of Commonwealth.

1. New Delhi, 19 November 1948. J.N. Collection.

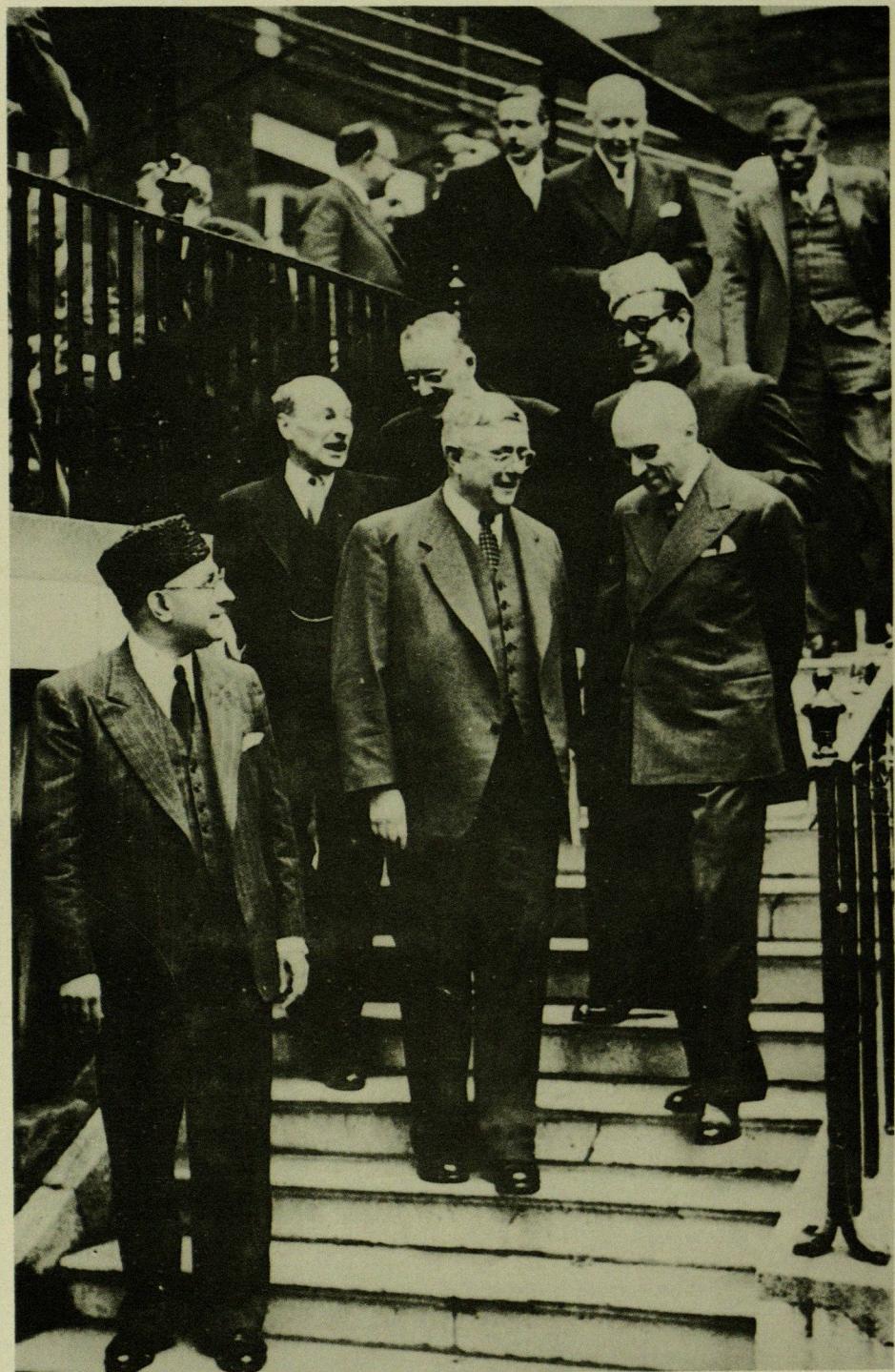
2. Herbert Vere Evatt.

3. Peter Fraser (1884-1958); Prime Minister of New Zealand, 1940-49.

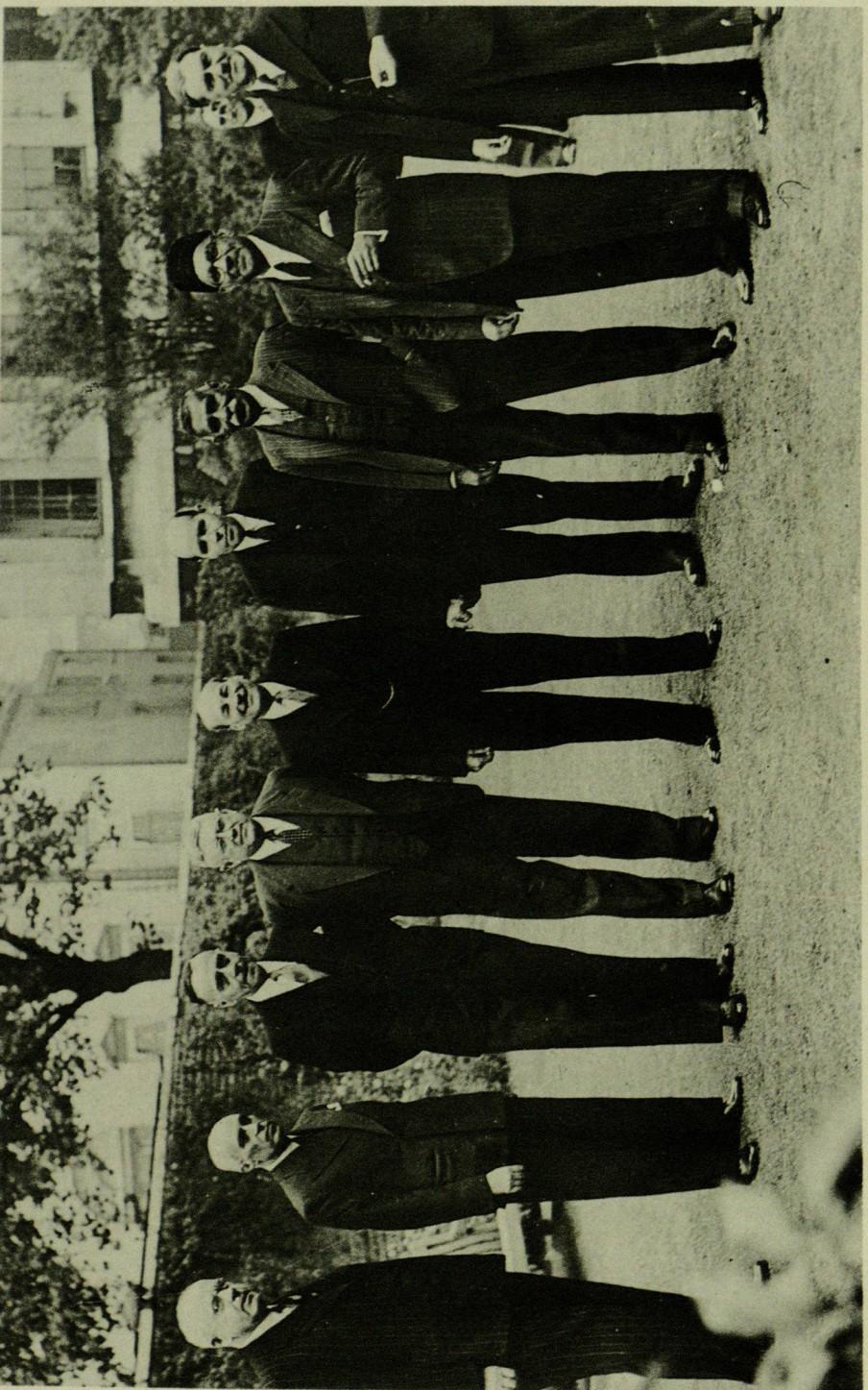
4. Lester Bowles Pearson.

5. They unanimously desired to maintain India's association with Commonwealth although it was not possible to retain it in the old form.

6. They suggested that, as symbol of Commonwealth association the authority to appoint Heads of Missions abroad should derive from the King. Appointments would be made by the President of Indian Republic on the advice of his ministers and delegation of King's powers would be made in exercise of his prerogative and would require no legislation either by Indian or British Parliaments.



WALKING DOWN THE STAIRS OF 10 DOWNING STREET,
LONDON WITH LIAQUAT ALI, C.R. ATTLEE, H.V. EVATT AND
OTHERS DURING THE COMMONWEALTH PRIME MINISTERS'
CONFERENCE, OCTOBER 1948



AT THE COMMONWEALTH PRIME MINISTERS' CONFERENCE: (L TO R) PETER FRASER,
JAWAHARLAL NEHRU, E.H. LOUW, H.V. EVATT, C.R. ATTLEE, NORMAN ROBERTSON,
D.S. SENANAYAKE, LIAQUAT ALI KHAN, GODFREY HUGGINS, OCTOBER, 1948

I am sending you my first reactions to keep you informed of position here.

I have just received through U.K. High Commissioner here top secret and personal message from U.K. Prime Minister in which he says that he is very sorry that their legal advisers consider ten points of my memorandum as insufficient from purely legal point of view.⁷ Further consideration is however taking place.

This raises additional difficulties. We shall await further communication from U.K. Prime Minister. Meanwhile, it might be desirable for you or Bajpai to see Attlee and find out from him how matters stand and explain our position.

7. Attlee, in his telegram of 18 November promised to inform Nehru as soon as possible the "result of our consideration of the legal advice we have had on the ten points."

13. Cable to V.K. Krishna Menon¹

Have received long message from Attlee² through U.K. High Commissioner here on subject of India and Commonwealth; also long summary of legal

1. New Delhi, 22 November 1948. J.N. Papers, N.M.M.L.
2. Attlee wrote, on 20 November, that the ten points mentioned in Nehru's memorandum of 28 October 1948, in international law, constituted an adequate legal basis to substantiate India's continued membership of the Commonwealth after the new Constitution came into effect, that other dominion representatives stressed the importance of finding a link between India and the Commonwealth by way of the King as its absence would put them in extremely difficult position with their parliaments and publics, that the member-states should declare their wish to remain in the Commonwealth and agree to Commonwealth citizenship, that a link by way of the King would (1) enable acceptance of Commonwealth by all civilised nations (2) strengthen a case in an International Court over Most Favoured Nation treatment either for trade or nationality.

opinion.³ I think Bajpai and you should see these papers and advise us. I have asked Nye⁴ to suggest to his Government to hand these papers to you. They must be kept 'top secret'.

3. Lord Chancellor and the Law Officers' comments on Nehru's ten points were :
(a) Passing of Indian Constitution would extinguish H.M.G.'s sovereignty in India and theory of dormant sovereignty put forward by B.N. Rau and Krishna Menon was not acceptable. (b) A continuous and substantial tie between members of the Commonwealth would put up a strong case before an International Court if the Most Favoured Nation status were challenged. (c) The only matter of substance would be, general acceptance of Commonwealth by all civilised nations, declarations by member Prime Ministers on "special form of association within the Commonwealth", and Commonwealth citizenship. (d) The treatment of Commonwealth citizens was subject to variation in each Commonwealth country. (e) After passing India's new Constitution, India's case for preferential treatment might not be strong. Moreover groups of foreign countries would be open to form an association of their own and possibly to arrange common citizenship and might claim that their members were not foreign to each other for the purpose of Most Favoured Nation clauses. Till now such claims were countered by the argument of common allegiance to the same Crown in case of Commonwealth. (f) It would be difficult to satisfy public opinion and Parliament to the challenge regarding India's position as Most Favoured Nation and it might instigate foreign countries to bring such claims. For specific points see *post*, item 17.

4. Archibald Nye was High Commissioner of the U.K. in India.

14. To Lord Mountbatten¹

New Delhi
November 22, 1948

Dear Lord Mountbatten,

Thank you for your letter of the 12th November. You were evidently incorrectly informed about the time that an airmail letter takes to reach India from Malta. Your letter reached me today, i.e., 11 days after it was written. Nevertheless it was very welcome.²

Thank you for your good wishes. Your telegram had already brought them and even if no message had come, I knew that the good wishes were there. It so happened that a little before I got your letter today, I had a long

1. J.N. Collection.
2. On 12 November 1948, Mountbatten had sent his best wishes to Nehru for his birthday thinking that the letter would reach India in two days.

talk with Admiral Parry³ about the development of the Indian Navy.⁴ I hope to see him from time to time.

I am afraid Ambedkar's amendment has little or no chance. Indeed it is not likely to be moved. The general approach I made to India's relationship with the Commonwealth in London has met with a fair amount of approval here, but there is a good deal of criticism as regards details. Meanwhile another difficulty has arisen which was quite unexpected. I have had a message from Attlee to say that legal experts find a number of flaws in this approach. This is surprising as what I wrote was drafted after full discussions between B.N. Rau and the British legal experts. I am very sorry for this as I am afraid this will create many difficulties.

I am glad Edwina and you are having a relief from heavy work. I wish I could say the same about myself. My stay in England, though not exactly a holiday, refreshed me greatly and on my return I was congratulated for the general improvement in my appearance. I fear I have relapsed, but I keep fit and that is the main thing.

Rajaji is a tower of strength and I see him frequently.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

3. William Edward Parry (1893-1972); joined Royal Navy, 1905; served in First World War; commanded H.M.S. *Achilles* in Battle of River Plate, 1939; Command of H.M.S. *Renown*, 1943; Deputy Head of Naval Division, Central Commission for Germany, Berlin, 1945-46; Director of Naval Intelligence, 1946-48; Vice Admiral, 1948; Commander-in-Chief, Indian Navy, 1948-51; Admiral, 1951-52.
4. Mountbatten had written that Parry was "a whole hearted enthusiast as well as a realist. He won't try to build you a too big navy too quickly but you must build up gradually as sure foundation and I am sure he would help you to understand the naval position."

15. To C. Rajagopalachari¹

New Delhi
November 24, 1948

My dear Rajaji,

Thank you for your letter of the 23rd November about India and the Commonwealth. Probably what you suggest would be the right step to take. But I think that we should have a little more clarification at both ends, before we take any step at all. I rather think that what you suggest will not be considered sufficient from the legal point of view.

Yours,
Jawaharlal

1. J.N. Collection.

16. To V. K. Krishna Menon¹

New Delhi
November 28, 1948

My dear Krishna,

I am receiving your telegrams, the last being No. 2659 dated 27th November.²

I think there is something more than legal difficulties in this matter of India and the Commonwealth. I think we can get over this because there is a genuine desire on both sides to get over it. Nevertheless it is no good minimising the difficulty. I have had three long meetings with the Congress Party in the Assembly discussing this matter. Naturally I did not place my memorandum to Attlee before them.³ But I told them the gist of it because I could not possibly proceed further without some reference to the Party. As it was, there was a feeling that I was functioning behind their backs and without consulting them.

There was some heat and passion in our meetings and some of the members were entirely opposed to the whole basis of our approach and to any link whatever with the U.K. or the Commonwealth. Many others were prepared to have some associations, but even they disliked references to the First Citizen of the Commonwealth etc.

I did not want the matter to be voted upon in the Party because that would have placed me in an embarrassing position. There was nothing precise to vote upon and whether the vote was positive or negative on a particular formula, we would have been committed to them. So I appealed to them to express their general agreement with the approach that I was making for this problem, vague as it was. In the end this was done and to some extent I have my hands free. But only to some extent and I realised how deep-rooted were the objections of many of them to anything which even remotely indicates some kind of subordinate status of India or India's President. This, they thought, might result from the First citizenship idea. I did not mention to them about the 'Fountain of Honour'. but I am quite sure there would have been a violent reaction against it.

1. V.K. Krishna Menon Papers, N.M.M.L. Extracts.

2. On 25 November 1948, Krishna Menon cabled that during his talks on Nehru's memorandum, Attlee indicated that legalism should not thwart "a common purpose" though he expected a reply to his lawyers' memorandum. These matters, Menon told Attlee had been discussed and objections met. He asserted that a legalistic approval was inappropriate and handing over this matter to legal experts on either side, a "mistake". On 27 November, after meeting Attlee and others, Menon wrote that he did not regard the lawyers' memorandum "as a stumbling block or as intended to obtain concessions from us."

3. See *ante*, item 6.

Paragraph 2 of my memorandum to Attlee was not placed before them, although it was hinted at by me. They did not like the idea of any part of the Indian Independence Act continuing.

There is no doubt that this question will be raised in some form or other at the Jaipur Congress three weeks later. I shall not have an easy time. However, I shall deal with it as best I can. The real point is that there is a basic difference in approach between the U.K. people and our people. The very point the U.K. wishes to emphasize for legal or sentimental reasons is objected to here. Most people are prepared to accept the common citizenship idea plus a declaration that we are in the Commonwealth. If you go beyond this, there is difficulty. For instance, your subtle argument about dormant sovereignty, which has not appealed to the U.K. lawyers, will appeal still less here for opposite reasons. Our people want to make it perfectly clear that they are making a new start and that, as the constitution will itself declare, sovereignty resides in the people and in no one else in any shape or form. Therefore, they would not like to say that the Indian Independence Act continues in so far as it is not repealed.

So far as paragraph 3 is concerned (of my memorandum to Attlee) this will have to be done in a separate nationality act and not in the Constitution itself. The point that is often asked is what is this Commonwealth citizenship. Does it create any kind of a super state? It is here again that the King's special position creates suspicion in the minds of people. Gopalaswami Ayyangar has suggested another draft for paragraph 3. It is as follows :-

"3. In a separate Nationality Act to be passed by the Indian Legislature, there will be incorporated the substance of the relevant provisions of the British Nationality Act, 1948 which will have the effect of making Indian nationals Commonwealth citizens and the nationals of any other Commonwealth country citizens when they are in India. This arrangement will be on a reciprocal basis. 'Commonwealth' in this connection does not mean a super-state or a super political organisation but stands merely for an association of free and independent States which accept this concept of Commonwealth citizenship".

I myself see no objection to this new draft and I do not see why anyone else should object to it.

Paragraph 5 of my memorandum. If it is at all possible to leave out the mention of the King, it would go a long way to appease a strongly felt sentiment here.

Paragraph 8. This appears to be disliked by the U.K. and the Dominions. So far as we are concerned, we certainly prefer not to mention it.

Paragraph 9. This again raises the question of some kind of dormant sovereignty which meets with stout opposition here.

I am indicating to you rather unmethodically the points that have risen in arguments here. I shall write to you more precisely a little later.

In your telegram No.2659—Paragraph 4, you ask me a question.⁴ That question has really been answered earlier in this letter. I do not think your suggestion will meet with approval here at all.

It seems to me that the lawyers' objections are of little force, if we, for our part, are prepared to state clearly that we consider ourselves members of the Commonwealth and secondly, when in any subsequent treaty or trade arrangement with a foreign power we expressly exclude the Commonwealth. I agree with what you say in paragraph 2 of your telegram.⁵

I shall write or telegraph to you more a little later...

Yours,
Jawaharlal

4. Krishna Menon had asked whether after passing the Constitution thereby terminating allegiance to the Crown there would be insurmountable objections "to our agreeing to accept the King or the person of King George or alternatively the Head of the majority of Commonwealth states as the Head of the Commonwealth (Association)....
5. Krishna Menon had written, "since Attlee's lawyers' objections are based on the contingency of a challenge at the Hague, would it not be best for me to take the line that we will face it when it arises and such objection can only be in respect of specific trade or other agreements by the two States. An adverse decision by the Hague Court can only affect the specific agreement or issue under challenge and not the Commonwealth relationship arrangement as a whole."

17. Cable to V.K. Krishna Menon¹

Reference your telegram 2690 dated 29th November India and Commonwealth.²

1. New Delhi, 2 December 1948. J.N. Papers, N.M.M.L.
2. Krishna Menon wrote that he had a long informal talk with Cripps and was arranging to see others. Cripps confirmed that the lawyers' memorandum sent by Attlee was not "a political answer from H.M.G. to your proposals and were communicated to you as submitted by the lawyers to Cabinet." Krishna Menon thought that these views were communicated "(a) to acquaint us with the legal difficulties that can arise and (b) to ascertain whether we would accept certain modifications. They were not meant by way of rejection of our proposals."

He thought that it would be a mistake to enter into further legal arguments at the stage and he would reply on behalf of Nehru. Cripps was of the same view.

1. Agree with you that this essentially political question and not legal though legal aspects have to be kept in view. Legal arguments and niceties will merely confuse issue and give rise later to varying interpretations. The position should be stated as simply as possible and no attempt should be made to import abstruse theories of 'dormant sovereignty' and the like.³

2. Position is as follows :

India becomes completely sovereign independent republic deriving its authority from the people. There is no allegiance to the King or any other external authority. In spite of this change we desire to continue our association with or membership of the Commonwealth, but nature of this association changes. It is no longer Dominion relationship which presumes allegiance to Crown. Because of this new relationship, Commonwealth States are not foreign nations to each other. Commonwealth relationship does not mean the creation of a super-state or a super political organisation but is an association of free and independent states which accept this concept of a Commonwealth and its corollary of Commonwealth citizenship.

3. So far as other Commonwealth States are concerned position of the King remains as the head of these States. We do not wish to interfere with the relationship of the King with these States. We do not repudiate this nor do we recognise him by any overt act. We say nothing about the King and leave the position as it is. It may be noted, however, that the King has been and is the head of different states but is not, strictly speaking, head of the Commonwealth, except inferentially and by courtesy.

4. In order to give effect to this new Commonwealth relationship we incorporate in our Nationality Act, passed contemporaneously with the coming into effect of the new Constitution, the relevant provisions of the British Nationality Act regarding Commonwealth citizenship, and we shall declare that we consider India as a member state of the Commonwealth.

5. In Attlee's personal message to me No. 3109 dated 20th November⁴

3. In view of the Law Officers, the only matters of substance that created a tie, would be :

(i) The *de facto* general acceptance by all civilised nations of the existence of the Commonwealth as a unit composed of nations bound together by a factual association of long standing based hitherto on the common sovereignty of the Crown but still continuing.

(ii) Declarations to be forthcoming by the Prime Ministers and perhaps the legislatures of the remaining members of the Commonwealth that they wished to be and regarded themselves as "still bound in a special form of association within the Commonwealth."

(iii) The common Commonwealth citizenship.

4. Attlee wrote, "we want India to remain within the Commonwealth and we believe in the light of the talks that you and I and other Ministers have had in London that India herself shares that view provided an acceptable basis can be found."

para 4 he made two suggestions (a) and (b).⁵ We are prepared to accept both of these though the necessity for latter part of (b) is not clear.

6. I do not see why our Commonwealth association should be challenged in International Court.⁶ If it is challenged this can be met when it arises. In view, however, of para 6 of my ten-point memorandum dated October 28 no difficulty about 'most favoured nation' clause can arise. Existing treaties cannot be affected as they were entered into when India was unquestionably not a foreign country and there will be no change in this respect. Our position will obviously be much stronger than that of Ireland in regard to our not being a foreign country.

7. In view of objection raised by Dominion Premiers to description of King as 'First Citizen of the Commonwealth' we have no desire to retain it. Indeed, for other reasons, objection is raised here also. We would therefore like to omit it and, as suggested above, make no mention of the King.

8. Ten-point memorandum : The U.K. Lawyers do not attach any importance to para 2.⁷ There is some feeling here also against it and we would like to omit it.

9. Para 3 might be redrafted to make it more precise. It is suggested that it might be made clear that the Commonwealth will not be a super-state, but an association of free and independent nations accepting Commonwealth citizenship.

10. Paras 4,6,7,8, and 10 to remain, but we would have no objection to para 8 being omitted.⁸

- 5. The two suggestions were that all members of the Commonwealth including India declared that they wished to be, and regarded themselves as, "bound in a special form of association within the Commonwealth;" that Commonwealth citizenship would be strengthened if a provision was included in Indian Constitution or law, that such legislation would remain in force, till such time as India remained a member. Attlee also welcomed further proposals from Nehru.
- 6. Attlee had written that a link, by way of the King, between India and the Commonwealth "would enable us to put forward a case strong enough to have a good chance of success if challenged in an international court over Most Favoured Nation treatment, whether in respect of trade or of nationality."
- 7. The lawyers' memorandum read :"....the result of the constitution if passed and asserted on behalf of His Majesty will be to extinguish His Majesty's sovereignty in India...After most careful consideration of the theory of dormant sovereignty put forward by the High Commissioner and Sir B.N. Rau, they regretfully find unable to accept it."
- 8. On point 8, the law officers found some difficulty in comprehending precise practical application. It would in fact be by virtue of the U.K. law that the preferential treatment, if any, was accorded. The King for that reason would have no choice but to withhold it if that law withheld it. They do not feel that on that assumption this could be regarded as a solid argument.

11. Para 5 should be omitted.⁹

12. Para 9 to be varied and to read as follows:

So far as the United Kingdom is concerned, the position is that generally speaking the King waived all functions of sovereignty in relation to India in favour of the people of India in pursuance of the Act of 1947. Under that Act there would be no further legislation on India by the Parliament of the United Kingdom, and after India's new Constitution comes into force there can be no such legislation. The Indian people and their representatives, including the President of the Republic, will thus exercise all functions of sovereignty.¹⁰

13. Para 10 to remain.

14. You will notice that, except where indicated above, we have accepted your general approach to this question as contained in your telegram 2690 dated 29th November.¹¹ We appreciate what Attlee has said and the spirit of suggestions¹² made by Evatt, Fraser and Pearson. We regret we are unable to accept them as these would undoubtedly be regarded here as affecting our independent status. There is strong feeling here over this. At same time we earnestly desire association, as indicated above, in Commonwealth and we feel it is feasible and likely to survive legal and other challenges. The simpler and more flexible it is the better.

15. In view of what I have said above, the ten-point memorandum should be rewritten. In following telegram I am sending this revised draft.

16. I should like you to have informal discussions with Attlee on lines indicated above. We are prepared to consider minor changes but it will be very difficult to introduce any major change.

9. The law officers advised that though the continued consideration of the King as the Fountain of Honour for the Commonwealth would be of assistance, it would not be appropriate that the phrase 'the first citizen' should be used in respect of the King and it is understood that this view is strongly held by Dominion representatives who consider the Prime Minister to be the first citizen of a Commonwealth country.

10. Law officers' comment on point 9 was : "...If however the meaning of this paragraph is that the King by asserting through his Governor-General under Section 63 of the Indian Independence Act, to the new Constitution of India will, in doing so waive all the functions of sovereignty, they agree; but they add that in their view a waiver of all the functions of sovereignty is indistinguishable from a waiver of sovereignty itself."

11. Krishna Menon had written that "we are equally unable to accept Attlee's suggestion arising out of the lawyers' memorandum that the Crown should be accepted and retained as the link of Commonwealth Association."

12. Krishna Menon had written that "we appreciate the spirit of the suggestions made by Fraser and others through Bajpai but we are not able to accept them as it would be regarded by our people as affecting our independent status."

17. I might inform you that Constituent Assembly is proceeding so slowly that there is little chance of new Constitution being passed before summer 1949.

18. Cable to V.K. Krishna Menon¹

Continuation of my last telegram.²

My ten-point memorandum to Attlee dated 28 October 1948³ should be revised, being reduced to 8 points, as follows :

1. The declaration as to the status of India will be left as at present in the draft Constitution.

2. In a Nationality Act, to be passed by the Indian Legislature, contemporaneously with the coming into effect of the new Constitution, there will be incorporated the substance of the relevant provisions of the British Nationality Act, 1948, which will have the effect of making Indian nationals Commonwealth citizens and the nationals of any Commonwealth country Commonwealth citizens when they are in India. This arrangement will be on a reciprocal basis. 'Commonwealth' in this connection does not mean a super-State but stands merely for an association of free and independent States which accept this concept of Commonwealth citizenship.

3. As soon as the constitutional changes are settled, or at such other time as may be agreed upon, the Prime Minister of India and the Prime Minister of the United Kingdom will make declarations announcing the changes and their nature and results.

4. In any new legislation, or new treaties entered into with other countries, the Commonwealth countries will not be treated as foreign states and their citizens will not be treated as foreigners.

In particular, in any new commercial treaties it will be made clear that for the purpose of the 'most favoured nation' clause the Commonwealth countries are in a special position and are not regarded as foreign States.

5. In foreign States where the Indian Government has no representation, it will be at liberty to make use of any other Commonwealth country's ambassador or minister ; and the Indian Government will be willing to provide reciprocal facilities for any Commonwealth Government that so desires.

1. New Delhi, 2 December 1948. J.N. Papers, N.M.M.L.

2. See the preceding item.

3. See *ante*, item. 6.

6. For the purposes of fulfilling the obligations of the Crown towards Commonwealth citizens other than Indian nationals, the President of the Indian Republic may at the request of the Crown, act on behalf of the King within the territories of India. A similar arrangement on a reciprocal basis will apply to Indian nationals in the rest of the Commonwealth.

7. So far as the United Kingdom is concerned, the position is that generally speaking the King waived all functions of Sovereignty in relation to India in favour of the people of India in pursuance of the Act of 1947. Under that Act there would be no further legislation of India by the Parliament of the United Kingdom, and after India's new Constitution comes into force there can be no such legislation. The Indian people and their representatives, including the President of the Republic, will thus exercise all functions of Sovereignty.

8. These proposals represent a sincere desire to continue the Commonwealth association and what is practical and adequate at present. No doubt as the relationship is not a static arrangement, further development by way of association may take place.

(Paragraph 6 above may be omitted if necessary).

19. To V.K. Krishna Menon¹

New Delhi
December 2, 1948

My dear Krishna,

I have just learnt that Sanjeevi² is going tomorrow and I am hastily writing these few lines.

This morning I sent you a long telegram - or rather two telegrams - regarding India and the Commonwealth.³ I have tried to explain as fully as possible what our attitude is and should be. We have had a number of discussions here on this subject amongst some of us. Naturally I did not want to take too many people into our confidence. Although I have discussed the matter in Cabinet and shown them the ten-point memorandum, these further discussions have been confined chiefly to Sardar Patel, Gopalaswami Ayyangar, B.N. Rau and myself.

As I have told you, I have got some kind of a line-clear from the Congress Party in the legislature. But I have realised that there are limitations to

1. V.K. Krishna Menon Papers, N.M.M.L.

2. T. G. Sanjeevi Pillai, the then head of the Intelligence Bureau.

3. See *ante*, item 17.

that line-clear and we might get into trouble if we forget this fact. Then also there can be little doubt that this matter will come up before the Congress in some form or other. In fact notice of a solution has already been sent by some member.

The Constituent Assembly is plodding along in a most leisurely and exasperating manner. If it goes on at this rate, it may take many months more. On the other hand it is just possible that getting tired of itself it may hurry up at a later stage. It hardly seems conceivable that it can finish its work before the 26th January. Your suggestion about the 26th January has been welcomed and has been agreed to, but this business of getting through the Constitution before that date hardly seems possible now.

In any event even if the Constitution is passed, a certain period will elapse, to be fixed by date, before it comes into operation. We have thus a fair amount of time to work out this Commonwealth relationship. I do not wish to hurry this matter. But it would be helpful to me if, before the Congress session begins, some kind of indication of the U.K. attitude is conveyed to me. That is to say, their reaction to what I have said in my telegrams to you. (Copies of these telegrams by the way, are being sent to you through Sanjeevi). That would help in dealing with the situation in the Congress. The Constituent Assembly will meet again after the Congress session. In fact it will go on meeting, except for a break for the Congress throughout January.

I have little to add to what I have said in my telegrams. Many questions arise, but I do not see why we should raise difficulties at this stage. For instance, there is the question of some kind of local allegiance for an Indian who is in another Commonwealth country and *vice versa*. Even a foreigner owes some kind of local allegiance ; presumably there will be some more of it in the case of a Commonwealth citizen. I would prefer to call it an obligation rather than allegiance, that is, an additional obligation to balance the additional privilege. I would not go into this matter now, but if it is raised, then there will be no great difficulty in agreeing to it. All this of course has nothing to do with the positive measures taken. There will be subsequent explanations as to what flows from them.

There is likely to be another difficulty, that is, in regard to South Africa. What happens if South Africa does not fall into line ? That is, so far as South Africa and we are concerned, we have not got those reciprocal privileges in Commonwealth citizenship. I mention this, though I do not think it is desirable to raise the question now.

I need hardly tell you that I have got a variety of headaches at the present moment. The Sikh situation in the East Punjab is getting rather out of hand and there might well be trouble there. Master Tara Singh is behaving in an astonishingly foolish and irresponsible manner. Then again the R.S.S. are threatening satyagraha just about the time of the Congress session. They are a very well organised and disciplined body and they can give trouble.

Meanwhile, we have been unable to do much in the way of lowering prices. In fact there has been a slight rise and this is troubling us very much.

I shall be away a good bit from Delhi in December. There is the Congress at Jaipur and then from the 24th to the 29th I shall be paying a visit to Hyderabad and Mysore. At the beginning of January I have to go to the Science Congress session in Allahabad.

Two days ago I received your letter about Monckton, enclosing his letter to you.⁴ I have shown it to Sardar Patel and V.P. Menon. As Rajaji is keenly interested in this matter, we have decided to await his return to Delhi in a day or two. I shall then let you know. Probably we shall accept your suggestion.

Yours,
Jawaharlal

4. See *ante*, section 3, item 22.

20. Cable to V.K. Krishna Menon¹

Your 2851 of 4th December.² Last sentence of paragraph 3 Primin 1796 is mere expression of one view.³ It has no other importance and need not be repeated. Sub clause (D) of paragraph 7 your 2690 generally meets our view,⁴ but I would not refer to comparison with club and its president. Main thing is that no act of acceptance of King in relation to our State or indeed any declaration either way by us in respect of King is called for.

2. Primin 1797 words "when they are in India" at end of second sentence referred to fact that our Nationality Act can only give Commonwealth citizenship rights to national of other Commonwealth countries when they are in India.⁵ We cannot confer by our Act any rights outside India. This

1. New Delhi, 6 December 1948. V.K. Krishna Menon Papers, N.M.M.L.
2. Krishna Menon had sought clarification on certain points mentioned in Nehru's earlier telegrams to him before he met Attlee for informal talks.
3. See *ante*, item 17.
4. Paragraph 7 read: "(d) The association has the King as its head in some form and we have never said or thought that the Commonwealth would shed the King because we changed our Constitution. No act of acceptance of the King in relation to our State or indeed any declaration either way by us in respect of the King is called for."
5. See *ante*, item 18, paragraph 2.

will be done by Acts of other Commonwealth countries. Phrasing perhaps not happy but no difference in meaning. Words may be left out. "Merely" can also be left out. I have already informed you that you may proceed with informal talks on basis of your 2690 modified by Primin 1796 and 1797, latter being handed to Attlee.

3. You must have received Primin 1802 of 5th December.⁶ I am disturbed by developments in Security Council and by continuing British attitude in regard to Kashmir. They seem to accept without demur allegations and complaints of Pakistan.

4. As I have informed you we have no intention whatever to start any offensive unless forced by Pakistan actions. Our information is that Pakistan building up forces in some Jammu areas, with what purpose I cannot say.

5. When we occupied Mendhar recently large part of population returned. It is Pakistan's tactics to frighten population when themselves retreating and practically driving them away. It may interest you to know that during the last few days about 20,000 of these people who had left have returned to Mendhar and round about and more are returning.

6. See *ante*, section 2, sub-section 1, item 26.

21. To V.K. Krishna Menon¹

Jaipur

17 December 1948

My dear Krishna,

I enclose copies of (1) a message from Attlee and (2) a personal letter from Stafford to me.²

(1) Attlee's message³ practically puts an end to the present basis of our talks about India remaining in the Commonwealth. I have done my utmost to prepare the ground here with the Congress Working Committee, the Con-

1. V.K. Krishna Menon Papers, N.M.M.L.

2. See *post*, section 11, sub-section 1, item 22.

3. Attlee on 15 December 1948 wrote that Nehru's revised 8 points (see item 18) did not seem satisfactory for continuing full degree of association within the Commonwealth through the nexus of the Crown. However, he wished that a close Commonwealth association could still be maintained and urged Nehru to give it further consideration. He shared Nehru's view expressed in para 8 of the revised proposals. He emphasised the need of having Commonwealth citizenship as a main feature of any such association and hoped that Nehru would proceed with the action contemplated in para 2. Attlee said that this message represented the views of Fraser, Evatt, Pearson and his own.

gress Party in the legislature, and yesterday in the Subjects Committee of the Congress here. There has been consistent opposition and few people like this business. But chiefly because of me they have agreed and in two or three days the Congress open session will no doubt pass the resolution, a copy of which I have already sent you. I am afraid we cannot go any further. Anyway I should like to have your reactions to all this and Attlee's message. What are we supposed to do now ?

Attlee suggests that we should go ahead with the Nationality clauses. Presumably this means that we occupy a position analogous to that of Eire. I am not at all clear about the position and shall wait till I hear from you.

About Stafford's letter, as a matter of fact the U.N. people are coming here soon and we shall have a talk with them. It should be clearly understood however, that even if we agree to the present proposals, this does not mean the solution of the problem. I am quite sure that the Kashmir affair would have been much nearer solution but for the attitude of the U.K. representative in the Security Council. Cadogan⁴ has adopted a consistently hostile attitude to us. Also the Britishers in Pakistan are much more hostile to us than the Pakistanis. I just do not understand Stafford pegging away at us and not realising what injury has been caused by representatives of the U.K.

This is written in some haste.

Yours,
Jawaharlal

4. Alexander George Montagu Cadogan.

22. To V.K. Krishna Menon¹

Jaipur
December 19, 1948

My dear Krishna,

I received here your telegram about Attlee's message to me.² I have sent you a reply that you should see Attlee informally and discuss the matter with him and then let me know how matters stand and what you would advise that we should do now.³ I have not yet sent any acknowledgment to Attlee and I do not propose to do so till I hear from you. I do not think it is neces-

1. V.K. Krishna Menon Papers, N.M.M.L.

2. Krishna Menon informed Nehru that he would send his observations on Attlee's message to Nehru later as he was not able to appreciate its implications at that time.

3. See the preceding item.

sary or desirable for me to send a message to him asking him to see you. You can see him without any such message from me to him.

If you are successful in getting any thing more out of him than what he has said, it will be a good thing. But it seems to me that his message is fairly definite. Indeed his first message was also definite enough. I doubt therefore if any advance on his part is likely. Any major change on our part is also unlikely. So there we are.

I do not quite know what we should do now. I have no desire to hurry any one or to precipitate matters. But it does seem desirable to me that this vagueness should be put an end to. After all we must know fairly soon what we should do in the Constituent Assembly. We may postpone this for a while because the new Constitution is not likely to be passed till some time in January.

Developments in Kashmir have not eased the situation. Yesterday I sent the draft of the telegram which was to have been forwarded to you to be handed over to Attlee. This has been held up in Delhi for the time being and tomorrow morning when I reach Delhi we shall consider it and send it to you with such changes as may be necessary. We cannot accept the position much longer of a host of British officers running the Kashmir campaign against us.

This evening, news came about Dutch action in Indonesia and their capture of Jogjakarta. We are expecting Soekarno, Shahrir and others in Delhi probably tomorrow, possibly the day after. This Dutch aggression is going to have very far-reaching results and here also we cannot remain quiet witnesses. We have gone too far already and in any event I think we shall have to take a strong line. I cannot indicate exactly what this might be, but it may even mean our asking the Netherlands Government to withdraw their Ambassador.⁴ I feel very angry at this Indonesian business in the way the U.S.A. and the U.K. have allowed it to go thus far. I am sure the Dutch could never have acted in this way but for the support they have got from time to time from the U.S.A. and the U.K. The Marshall Aid money which was given to the Netherlands has no doubt been utilised for the Indonesian campaign.

Yours,
Jawaharlal

4. A.T. Lamping was the Dutch Ambassador in New Delhi.

11
FOREIGN POLICY
I. General

1. The World Situation¹

Jawaharlal Nehru : I might visit Cairo early in November at the invitation of Azzam Pasha² on my way back to Delhi.

I have not had time to give full and proper consideration to the Bernadotte Plan³ for Palestine, but India's stand on the Holy Land has always been for a federal solution with autonomous areas.

Question : What do you hope to discuss at the Prime Ministers' Conference ?

JN : The Prime Ministers' Conference has been called for an informal exchange of views.

Q : How do you view Communist activity in South East Asia ?

JN : While there is considerable Communist penetration in South East Asia, this question, if raised, will be discussed only incidentally.

Q : What is your assessment of the present international situation ?

JN : There is great excitement among world statesmen which obscures clear thinking. The trouble nowadays is that we have so many immediate big problems that it is difficult to plan a long-term future policy, but we must link action with contemplation. Meanwhile, India is going ahead with fifteen major river valley schemes and other projects.

Q : Will you address the U.N. General Assembly in Paris ?

JN : I am not certain yet whether I shall be speaking at the U.N. General Assembly.

1. Talk with journalists at Cairo airport, 6 October 1948. From *The Hindustan Times*, 7 October 1948.
2. Secretary General of the Arab League.
3. Count Bernadotte's report of 16 September 1948 recommended (1) revision of the boundaries as envisaged in the U.N. General Assembly resolution of 29 November 1947; (2) repatriation of refugees to be affirmed and made effective with provision for compensation to those who did not wish to return to their homes; (3) guaranteed rights of the Arabs and the Jews in the territories in which they were settled; (4) special status for Jerusalem in view of its religious and international importance; and (5) setting up of a Palestine Conciliation Commission.

2. Nationalism, Imperialism and Communism¹

Pandit Nehru said that when allusion had been made on the previous day to the Communist threat in Western Europe² he himself had felt that Asia was at least as important. In the issue of peace or war, Asia, and particularly its newly independent nations, would carry great weight. It was important, therefore, that the world should look at Asia in its proper perspective and that there should be a full understanding of the main forces at work there.

Asia was now going through the phase which Europe had passed through three generations ago. Nationalism was now a very great force to be reckoned with. There had been three competing ideas—nationalism, imperialism and communism. Originally, communism had supported nationalism, as championing the underdog, against imperialism; and it had then been welcomed in Asia by many people who lacked any genuine understanding of its economic doctrine or its international implications. When, however, imperialism was removed in a country which had attained its independence, communism then came into conflict with nationalism; and when this conflict became apparent, communism had no hold on Asian people.

Thus the Governments of both Burma and Indonesia, though Leftist, had found themselves in conflict with the Communists. The people might for a time retain some sympathy for communism for people were slow to adapt themselves to the idea that imperialism was in fact largely a thing of the past. Moreover, people in Indonesia had been astonished at the dilatoriness of the Dutch Government in giving effect to self-government, and they had entertained some hostility towards the Governments of the United States and the United Kingdom because they believed that the Dutch must be receiving support from those Governments. Pandit Nehru said that he could not but feel that the United States, in pursuing material advantage, had lost its dominion over people's minds, which was of much greater importance. He suggested that an anti-Communist appeal was not likely to succeed with Asian peoples, in view of the extent to which Communists

1. Minutes of the third meeting of the Commonwealth Prime Ministers, London, 12 October 1948. J.N. Papers, N.M.M.L. Extracts.
2. Stafford Cripps had observed : "A rather feeble Western Europe, exhausted by war, was the key-point of danger in the world today, and we must all—the sterling area, the United States and Canada—combine to play our part in supporting and strengthening the economy of Western Europe; otherwise we should lose the world struggle against communism and totalitarian domination."

had in the past supported legitimate nationalist aspirations. Asian peoples had, however, no sympathy for Russian expansionist policies; and publicly drawing attention to the dangers of Russian encroachment upon Asia would be much more likely to be effective. In most countries in Asia people would in the long run be influenced mostly by their indigenous outlook and culture. Communism might carry weight if it came in support of nationalism and the underdog; but there would be no welcome for Slavism and communism of a specifically Russian brand. As long as there were other forces championing nationalism and the betterment of living conditions, the ground would be cut from under the feet of the Communists.

In India some years ago many people had been friendly to communism. Today the Communists, though well organised, were only a small party and lacked strength because they had divorced themselves from nationalist feeling. They had won only five seats out of about 500 in the election and were not likely to win any more. As long as nationalism remained allied with the forces of progress, communism might make mischief in India, but could not have any vital influence on the trend of events.

As regards Japan, Pandit Nehru said that it was difficult to predict the future, but he agreed that it was possible that Japan might again become militaristic. He doubted, however, whether any policy of permanent repression would succeed. The Japanese were virile, disciplined and industrious people, who could not be suppressed for long. If the Japanese had reason to fear a long period of repression, it would be difficult to influence their minds in the right direction. Military disarmament was, of course, necessary, but the long-term control of industry in Japan was not practicable. Moreover, it was not expedient, since Japanese goods were wanted in the world and, what was even more important, the effect on Japanese minds would be most harmful.

Turning to the general strategic situation, Pandit Nehru emphasised that India, by her geographical position, was vitally interested both in the Middle East and the Far East. She was particularly interested in South East Asia, and both Indonesia and Burma had sought her counsel. The future would bring her into even closer contact with South East Asia and with Australia and New Zealand and a regional understanding on a broad basis between all these countries was most desirable. It was important, therefore, that in surveying the larger world picture, account should be taken of any regional understandings reached in South East Asia and the Pacific, so that there should be no conflict between the policies agreed in these regions and those envisaged in a larger world perspective.

As regards Malaya, Pandit Nehru awaited with interest the statement of

Mr. Malcolm MacDonald.³ The difficulties of Malaya were enhanced by the population question; there were more Chinese than native Malays and communism had its main hold among the Chinese. Yet communism could not succeed in Malaya unless it could also play on the economic discontent of the Malaya labouring classes. It must be admitted that conditions of labour on the estates in Malaya had often been very bad, and during the war there had been occasions on which laboureres had been fired on by troops. All this had won support for the Communists among the labouring classes, who could be won over only by political reform and the betterment of their economic conditions.

3. In his statement on 13 October MacDonald traced the growth of the Communist Party in Malaya from 'a small but potent force' to a revolutionary movement. In June Malayan Communists had launched a campaign of violence attacking European managers of plantations and mines and all others who resisted their attempt to seize the Government by force. Though the Communists did not number more than five thousand fighting men and lacked popular support, MacDonald felt, it would be very difficult to root them out as "they had two powerful allies—the jungle and the Chinese squatters." A positive policy of economic improvement and political advancement was necessary to defeat the Communists.

3. No Danger of a Third World War¹

The world's great powers are in a state of acute tension and this is a real threat to peace. I think that the threat will not materialise and that war will not come.

1. London, 12 October 1948. Reply to an American newspaper which sought the opinions of leading international figures on the issue of "Peace or War?" From *The Hindu*, 14 October 1948.

4. Development as the Key to India's Economic Freedom¹

Pandit Nehru said that the immediate economic task for India was to fight inflation. Her greatest need was to increase production and for this purpose she urgently required large supplies of capital goods. Shortage of transport was one of the factors limiting her industrial expansion, and she needed to increase substantially her stock of railway wagons. Irrigation schemes, agricultural development, hydro-electric plants and anti-malaria campaigns were the main features of her economic programme. But many of these schemes were delayed by difficulty in obtaining the plant and machinery required. Large scale economic development was necessary in order to raise the standard of living of the Indian people. This need to raise the economic standards of the less developed countries was, indeed, one of the most urgent problems now confronting the world, and, unless it could be solved, the continued prosperity of the industrialised countries could not be assured. He therefore deprecated any suggestion that the economic assistance which was now being provided by the United States Government was being offered solely for the benefit of the countries which received it; in fact it was a measure necessary for the common good of all the peoples of the world, including the United States itself, whose current level of prosperity could not be maintained indefinitely unless the purchasing power of other countries were restored.

It must therefore be an object of policy for all peace-loving nations to remove as many areas as possible from the economic danger zone. It seemed to him unfortunate that economic plans should have to be qualified by reference to the possibility that they might be upset by war or by political upheavals. For the risks of war and political disturbance arose mainly from economic grievances and low standards of living. If governments could concentrate all their efforts and resources on raising economic standards, particularly in the less developed countries, the risk of war would be substantially reduced.

India certainly intended to do her utmost to raise the standard of living of her people. For this she needed help, particularly in the supply of capital goods, preferably from the other countries of the Commonwealth, or, if they could not provide it, from the United States. If necessary, she would

1. Minutes of the fifth meeting of the Commonwealth Prime Ministers, London, 13 October 1948. J.N. Papers, N.M.M.L. Extracts.

proceed with her plans even without outside aid. But this would mean delay; and delay in promoting the economic development of India would encourage the spread of communism and create grave social and political problems. Many people now feared communism as an ogre trying to swallow the world. An attitude of fear was, however, a purely negative approach to the problem posed by communism. The fact was that, in Asia at any rate, communism flourished only where the economic standards of the people were indefensibly low; and the positive answer to the Communist threat was to remedy those conditions. It was only by these means that we could hope to secure lasting peace throughout the world. He therefore strongly stressed the importance of linking together the economic and political aspects of national policies.

It was fashionable to contrast the capitalist economy of the United States with Russian Communism; but, so far as India was concerned, he was satisfied that it would be unprofitable and even dangerous to invite comparison between these two economic systems. Communism had a theoretical appeal for many people who would not find it agreeable in practice to live under a Communist regime. On the other hand, though many Indians might envy the material prosperity of the United States, few would welcome the consequences of applying to India the principles of American capitalism. It would certainly be undesirable to build up new vested interests in India at her present stage of development. He believed that India's approach to her economic problems was more likely to approximate to the policies and outlook of the United Kingdom Government. It was with this in mind that he had said, in his original comments on Sir Stafford Cripps' review of the economic situation at the meeting on 11th October, that he had drawn inspiration from the efforts which the United Kingdom was making to re-establish her economy.²

2. See *post*, section 11, sub-section III, item 2.

5. The Need for Wider Perspective¹

Pandit Nehru said that he felt some difficulty in discussing these problems of the West; they must, of course, affect India, but India was geographically very far away, and he would leave the more immediate problems to those

1. Minutes of the tenth meeting of the Commonwealth Prime Ministers, London, 19 October 1948. J.N. Papers, N.M.M.L. Extracts.

who were more competent to deal with them. In a wider context, however, he agreed that aggression must be stopped and that for this purpose firmness was required. Apart from Russia's active expansionism, what grieved many people in India was her apparent lack of any sense of ethics in international affairs and her disregard of her plighted word. There was, no doubt, a widespread desire for a long period of peace, but it seemed to him that there was a general failure to keep that object in full and steady view and a tendency to be concerned with more immediate and minor objectives and with preparations against a hypothetical war. He called for a wider perspective. More than once in the past we had gone on as we were doing now, apparently towards peace, but in reality towards war. It was not enough to say that we were being frustrated by outside forces; we must see that we did not allow such forces to frustrate us in the pursuit of our long-term objective.

There was also a tendency to think too much in terms of the intentions of Governments; but behind the Governments stood the vast masses of the peoples. In the fight against communism, it was the great masses of the peoples who would ultimately count. Therefore, whether the ultimate struggle took the shape of war or a battle of ideologies or both, it would in essence be a fight for the souls of men. We must realise this and penetrate into the minds of the great masses and win them over otherwise we should lose the fight in the long run in spite of all our material equipment. We should base our actions on definite objectives and on moral principles, which in the long run were the surest foundation for policy. It was no use saying that because our opponents had strayed from the narrow path, we should do the same; that was a fatal course, which would bring us to ruin. Mr. Bevin had borne out Pandit Nehru's own view that there was no near prospect of war for some time. We were, therefore, in a position now to aim at a long-term objective and, if we were able to ensure peace for the next few years, he thought that it would last very much longer.

From Asia they were watching the expansionist tendencies of Russia. Whether the expansion was Communist or Slavist or merely Russian, they did not like such expansionism and would oppose it. On the other side, however, there were also expansionist tendencies on the part of the United States, largely in the economic field. The United States was a great country with a sense of mission, and it was trying to make other countries follow the way of life which it thought they should follow. This, again, India did not like. At the moment it seemed that Russia and the United States were fighting for the mastery of the world, but he did not think that either would succeed. He believed that democratic freedom would survive and grow despite these contending pressures. He thought that the British Commonwealth could make an important contribution to this end. There was grave danger that each of the main contending Powers, in order to gain strength, would ally itself with wrong elements. The example of Spain had already been men-

tioned. It would, he thought, be deplorable if the democratic powers sought the support of a country under such a reactionary totalitarian regime. Such action would assist the Soviet Union in its claim that it stood for enlightenment and progress. The Soviet Union had acquired the allegiance of its satellites, partly to spread Communist doctrine, but much more with the object of ensuring Soviet security in any future war by preparing new bases for use in defence or aggression. Was the United States pursuing a similar policy? She, too, was acquiring bases throughout the world and there were countries which he had heard called satellites of the United States, some of which might almost be said to be under the latter's political control, as others were certainly under her economic domination. How great, for instance, was the freedom of action enjoyed by Turkey? It was important that all countries should keep their hands clean in this matter.

The policy of Western Union was doubtless an inevitable development, but he was concerned about its relationship to the United Nations. Like many others, he was not proud of the past or present achievements of the United Nations, but he thought it was essential to preserve it as a focus for efforts to maintain the peace of the world. The unanimity rule had been abused, but it was difficult to proceed on the basis that all members of the United Nations were of equal importance. Nothing would be gained by breaking up the United Nations and losing the opportunity of resolving international difficulties. Regional arrangements were also desirable, but they must not conflict with the principle of the United Nations. It must be borne in mind that, if regional arrangements were started in Europe, they would spread to other parts of the world, e.g., the Middle East. He himself had hitherto resisted proposals made to him by other Asiatic countries for the formation of an Asian Union, but pressure for this type of arrangement would doubtless grow as the regional idea was developed in Europe. Mr Nehru paid tribute to the courageous action of the United Kingdom in relation to India and generally to its abandonment of colonialism and imperialism as a policy in that part of Asia. But colonialism still subsisted in other parts of Asia, e.g., in French Indo-China and Indonesia. Governments in these territories were apt to turn to the Indian Government for advice. Only recently he had learned from the Indonesian Government that the Dutch were contemplating further military action.

Mr. Nehru agreed that it was right to resist aggression by a policy of firmness, but he could not approve of any policy which was based on an armaments race and led on from the talk of war to war itself. He hoped that now that the danger of immediate war was, as he thought, averted, there would be an easing in the tension. If it was right that we should talk of ourselves as a democracy, it was right also that we should think of and provide for the democracy of others. By enlisting the support of other democracies it would be possible to combat the totalitarian enemy. It would

not do to deny subject peoples their rights and their freedom on the ground that they were uncivilised. Duty lay in the direction of providing these peoples with both civilisation and freedom. Great stress should be laid on seeking a peaceful solution to the problems before the world through the agency of the United Nations.

6. Towards a World Without War¹

Pandit Nehru said that it was fortunate that the present political crisis had come at a time when the big Powers were not prepared for war; and, since the Soviet Union was not likely to be ready to fight for eight to ten years and the United States and the United Kingdom did not in any event want war, there was a period of grace which could be used to mould the future in such a way as to avert war. He agreed that Commonwealth countries must not be unprepared and should not surrender to evil; but, with the prospect of atomic and biological warfare, another war would be a disaster for all well-intentioned peoples irrespective of who might be the ultimate victor. All countries, must therefore set about creating conditions which would make war impossible. The defensive preparations of Commonwealth countries must not be aggressive and should be supplemented by a positive policy designed to do away with the idea of war altogether. There must be a proper balance in the distribution of the available resources between defence preparations and economic development, and it was most important that India should develop her industrial potential. He agreed that it should be made plain to would-be aggressors that war would be unprofitable, and he emphasised that India would permit no incursion into her territory or into the regions around it. To secure this she was prepared to cooperate with other members of the Commonwealth and to share the burdens which such cooperation would impose. India had resources of monazite, thorium and uranium which it was important to her to develop for peaceful purposes, and he believed that a policy of economic development would both strengthen India's ability to wage war, should this be necessary, and by providing a higher standard of living, counter the Communist menace. The surest defence against the spread of communism in India was, in his view, not coercion, but the removal of the conditions of poverty in which communism found its advantage; and the Government of India were guided by this principle.

1. Minutes of the twelfth meeting of the Commonwealth Prime Ministers, London, 20 October 1948. J.N. Papers, N.M.M.L. Extracts.

Pandit Nehru asked how the weakness of the Netherlands² could be reconciled with the fact that large forces were being maintained in Indonesia.

2. Montgomery who spoke before Nehru had observed : "If a war were to break out soon, it could not be expected that much would be forthcoming from the countries of Western Europe, who had not yet recovered from five years of German occupation, whose morale was low and whose general officers had inevitably spent most of the last war as prisoners."

7. To Vallabhbhai Patel¹

Paris

27 October 1948

My dear Vallabhbhai,

I am dealing herewith some matters referred to in your letter of the 15th.

My visits to London and Paris have helped me not only to understand the international situation a little better but also and more especially the position of India in relation to it. I do not think there is any danger of war in Europe in spite of the very great tension that prevails. Very probably some temporary arrangement will be arrived at between the Soviet group and the Western group of Powers about Berlin² and some other matters. This will relieve the immediate tension, but of course extreme suspicion of each other will continue and what is worse rearmament on both sides. Nevertheless I look forward to a progressive lessening of tension and a certain armed stability arising.

Almost everything conducive to war has been present during the last few months. The political crisis has been acute but fortunately the military preparations of the Powers were not adequate for a war. That is to say the political crisis did not synchronize with military preparedness. Hence there was no war and there will be no war for some considerable time, unless some extraordinary event occurs. It is acknowledged that the Soviets do not want war for eight years or more simply because they are not ready for it. On the other side also there is, of course, no desire for war but there has

1. *Sardar Patel's Correspondence 1945-50*, Vol. 7, pp. 667-672.
2. The decision of the Western Allies to unite their respective zones in Germany into a single self-governing unit and the subsequent introduction of a new Deutschmark in West Berlin were resented by the Soviet Union, which in time imposed a blockade on road and rail traffic between Berlin and West Germany. Negotiations to resolve the crisis engendered some hope of an agreement when the parties met in Berlin in August 1948. The final agreement however was signed only in May 1949.

been a slight danger of some incident inducing military chiefs to jump in. This has been prevented by unpreparedness. Now preparations are going on at some speed to mobilize the strength of various countries for war. Much of the war talk in the U.S.A. and elsewhere has really been directed to creating conditions which would enable parliaments to vote large appropriations for the defence services.

In a sense it has been a good thing that the political crisis came long before a military crisis or preparedness. If the two had synchronized there would undoubtedly have been war. Now there is a fair chance of the political crisis fading off gradually. We have a few years to work to this end. The outlook is not very cheerful, but it is better than I expected.

About India's position in relation to the world, I doubt if many persons in India realise what other people and other countries think of India now. Definitely, India is considered as a potential great power and specially as a dominant power in Asia, apart from the U.S.S.R. in the north. There is full realization of this and therefore a desire to cultivate India. The U.K. and the Commonwealth countries were very conscious of this fact. The U.S.A. progressively realizes it, the Middle East countries and other Asian countries also appreciate this. In Asia, everyone knows that China cannot play an effective part for a long time. The only other country in Asia is India capable of playing this part. Pakistan, of course, does not come into the picture in this sense at all.

All this was rather a vague appreciation previously. My visit here has crystallized this idea in peoples' minds. In London, in the various conferences it was evident that India was looked upon as making a great difference in the future and her voice was listened to with respect. Here in Paris to some extent the same thing is in evidence among the representatives of various countries. I am meeting many of these separately and in groups.

Both Hyderabad and Kashmir have troubled people a lot here and in London. It is recognized, of course, that the Hyderabad affair is over from the international point of view. It was very fortunate that we could dispose of it rapidly. Otherwise reactions would have been very much adverse to us as it is difficult to explain everything and the simple fact of a large country attacking a small one impressed people unfavourably. So far as Kashmir is concerned, I think it is generally recognized that our case is a good one; nevertheless this business of a plebiscite and the conditions governing it fills peoples' minds. Of course people cannot get rid of the idea that Kashmir is predominantly Muslim and therefore likely to side with Muslim Pakistan. They say that if it is agreed that there should be a plebiscite, why is there any difficulty in having a ceasefire and truce? Liaquat Ali has laid stress on one fact only, i.e., that the conditions of the plebiscite should be fixed now and then he will gladly agree to the ceasefire, etc., in accordance with the U.N. Commission's resolution. He says those conditions should be according to

the Security Council's resolution. I have made it clear that we cannot accept this for obvious reasons. The next suggestion is to come to some other agreement about the conditions. I do not think all this will lead to anything at present at least. We cannot possibly agree to any outside intervention in the Government of Kashmir.

I am mentioning all this to you just to keep you in touch with the developments here. I might mention also that the position I have taken up about Kashmir is either a full acceptance of the U.N. Commission's resolution on ceasefire, or a partition on the lines we have previously talked about, i.e. western Poonch, etc., Gilgit, Chitral, most of Baltistan, etc., to go to Pakistan. Neither of these is acceptable to Liaquat Ali.

The whole point I should like to impress upon you and my colleagues is that the Kashmir affair as well as Hyderabad developments are being very closely followed in other countries, though they may not say much about them. They follow them in order to judge of what India stands for and is going to be. We have therefore to keep this fact in mind in regard to any steps that we take in both these places.

The question has often been asked by representatives of various countries as to what the future of Hyderabad is going to be as also that of the Nizam. I have replied that so far as the Government of India are concerned they do not propose to make any radical change and the Nizam is continuing as a kind of constitutional head. It is for the people of Hyderabad to determine by democratic process their future constitution, etc. India is chiefly interested in the establishment of democracy in Hyderabad and in three principal subjects being Central—Foreign Affairs, Defence and Communications.

You sent me a copy of a letter of Akbar Hydari about Hyderabad in which he expressed his views about the Nizam as well as the future of the State. Those views are logical but I am quite sure that if we as Government of India took any steps in that direction, we would suffer very greatly in prestige and in public and governmental estimation abroad. We have a hard problem to tackle in Hyderabad and unfortunately the local people are very second-rate. I think it would be dangerous for us if we even hinted at the present moment at a possible division of Hyderabad into various linguistic areas or at the removal of the Nizam.

In your letter you mentioned that the influx of Hindu refugees from East Bengal continued. You further said that it might become necessary for us to take firm and resolute action. You suggest that we might have to consider giving a clear indication to the Pakistan Government that if this immigration continues we would have no alternative left except to send out Muslims from West Bengal in equal numbers.

It is perfectly true that this continuing migration is a tremendous problem for us and I cannot suggest an obvious remedy. It is largely due to deteriorating economic conditions and the Pakistan Government is hardly

capable of improving these conditions. But I am quite clear in my mind that any suggestion about Muslims being sent from West Bengal to East Bengal would lead to disastrous consequences. Even an indication of this would injure our case very greatly without in the least affording us relief from the migration.

A suggestion of this kind was made some time back by Bidhan Roy and I wrote to him rather strongly on the subject. I felt that such an idea would completely put an end to a stand we have taken as a secular State and it would create communal trouble all over India and the great gain to us of the Hyderabad affair would vanish. Every Muslim in India would feel an alien and in effect we would have established a Hindu State. Our world position, which is high at present, would suffer irretrievably. Every action that we have taken in the past, every declaration that we have made will be judged from a new standpoint and we shall be condemned and isolated. Our enemies would of course say that they were right, throughout, our friends will remain silent in a shame-faced way. All kinds of new problems and difficulties would arise and the consequences in every direction will be bad.

Then again how would one pick out Muslims, who are undoubtedly citizens of India, to be sent to East Bengal ? None of them will want to go voluntarily and we would have to employ force. Neither international nor domestic law could justify this pushing out of our own citizens to a foreign country which does not want them.

If there is no other alternative, it will be better to stop receiving refugees from East Bengal, i.e., just put up a barrier against all of them unless there is some special reasons that permit could be granted.

Regarding the R.S.S., there is a widespread impression in England that they are Fascist, communal-minded people and any action we take in regard to them will be considered from this point of view. We shall have to be a little careful about this both from the point of view of domestic law and order and because of other reaction. We are criticized considerably for our detentions without trial and other repressive activities of the State, in so far as trade unions and labour people and the like are concerned. There is a strong feeling against the Communists in England but still I was asked why we were putting people in prison without trial. Even Lady Mountbatten told me that she was very worried about it. Many Labour Members of Parliament also spoke about it although they had no sympathy whatever with the Communists and others.

If at this juncture we remove the ban on the R.S.S.³ and continue it on other groups, this will be widely interpreted as our encouraging certain Fascist elements in India.

3. The Government of India had banned the R.S.S. on 4 February 1948.

The R.S.S. have a definite ideology which is entirely opposed to that of the Government and the Congress. They oppose definitely the idea of a secular State. In fact their ideology strikes at the root of our Constitution, present and future. If they continue to hold that ideology, their activities are definitely unconstitutional. The least they can do is to make clear publicly that they renounce this ideology and all activities to further it.

I remember Bapu telling me after his first meeting with Golwalkar⁴ that he was partly impressed by him but at the same time he did not trust him. After his second or third meeting he expressed a very strong opinion against Golwalkar and the R.S.S. and said that it was impossible to rely upon their word. They appear to be highly reasonable when talked to but they had no compunction in acting in exact contradiction to what they said. My own impression has been the same. I believe that we have been receiving reports from various parts of the country telling us of undesirable activities by the R.S.S. I suggest therefore that we should be very careful in taking any new step about the R.S.S. at the present juncture.

Regarding the Bihar Zamindari Abolition Bill, if our Advocate-General's⁵ view is correct, which I doubt very much, then we shall have to face a major crisis all over India in regard to zamindari abolition. If payment has to be made in cash that simply means that compensation cannot be paid. No Government in the wide world can make payment in cash in such circumstances much less our provincial governments. This means that we give up this whole business of zamindari abolition. That again means inviting trouble apart from breaking our own promises.

Yours,
Jawaharlal

4. Madhav Sadashiv Golwalkar (1906-73); Chief of the R.S.S., 1940-73.

5. Sir Noshirwan P. Engineer.

8. The Importance of Asia¹

It would be more helpful if the statesmen of Europe and the U.S.A. could develop a more proper perspective, a perspective more in tune with reality today. The focus of interest is usually upon Europe or America. Europe

1. Speech at a reception organised by the Indian Association of France, Paris, 31 October 1948. From *The Statesman*, 2 November 1948.



WITH TRYGVE LIE, SECRETARY GENERAL OF THE U.N., PARIS, 3 NOVEMBER 1948



ADDRESSING A GATHERING OF INDIANS AT INDIA HOUSE, LONDON, 21 OCTOBER 1948

is an important and vital part of the world, but it is not the entire world. This fact is often forgotten. It was forgotten in the past 200 years because, in a sense, Europe dominated the rest of the world. That period of domination is over, and where it lingers here and there, it will go very soon. The consequences of this fact have not dawned on the minds of most people in Europe and America. They have not emotionally grasped the significance of what has happened, and, consequently their perspective is rather wrong in judging the world and its problems.

Anything that happens in Europe will affect Asia. Anything that happens in Asia will affect Europe. Asia has changed. India is full of problems and difficulties. Nevertheless it is a country which is full of vitality. It is a very old country but it has something of the vitality of youth in it.

India has made many blunders, has stumbled and fallen but has always had the strength to get up and go forward again. During the past twenty to thirty years under Mahatma Gandhi's leadership, India has learned the essential strength of having the capacity to get up after every blunder and go ahead.

If you look at the last thirty years of India's history, you will find, after the conflicts with British power, when often it seemed that the national movement had been crushed, the movement was flourishing stronger than ever before. That, of course, was due to many factors—but chiefly it was due to the method evolved by Mahatma Gandhi for carrying on the struggle. It was a method which might or might not win, but could not be defeated and was, therefore, ultimately bound to win.

In the past generations the world has had two great Wars and has learned practically nothing from them. It showed how extraordinarily backward the human mind is, or those minds which govern our political destinies.

What happens nowadays in politics is a competition in wrong-doing and evil-doing. Every action has a certain reaction, and if it were an evil reaction, then evil consequences flowed from it. It is very difficult to know sometimes what is right and what is not and sometimes we have had to choose between two evils.

It is worthwhile remembering in this crisis of human affairs that it does not pay to pursue a course of hatred and violence and wrong-doing. Such a course brings some kind of retribution and it might be that what the world is going through today is some kind of consequence of the hatred and violence accumulated in the past.

9. The Role of the United Nations¹

I am grateful for the opportunity that has been given to me to address this great Assembly. I feel a little embarrassed and a little overwhelmed by this occasion because this Assembly represents the world community, and, whether we who are present here are big men and women or small, we represent a mighty cause, and something of the greatness of that cause falls upon us too and makes us, for the moment, greater perhaps than we are.

Therefore, in venturing to address this Assembly, I feel embarrassed. You have been dealing with intricate and difficult problems, and I do not, and I would not, venture on this occasion to say anything about those great problems that confront you. You carry the burdens and the sorrows of the world. But I have often wondered whether, in dealing with those problems, the approach that is normally made to them is a right one or not. The Charter of the United Nations, in noble language, has laid down the principles and the purposes of this great organization. I do not think it would be possible to improve upon that language. The objectives are clear; your aim is clear; and yet, in looking at that aim, we lose ourselves often, if I may venture to say so, in smaller matters and forget the main objective that we were looking at. Sometimes it seems that the objective itself gets a little clouded and lesser objectives are before us.

I come from a country which, after a long struggle, though that struggle was a peaceful struggle, attained her freedom and her independence. In these long years of struggle we were taught by our great leader never to forget not only the objectives we had but also the methods whereby we should achieve those objectives. Always he laid stress on this, that it was not good enough to have a good objective, that it was equally important that the means of attaining those objectives were good; means were always as important as ends. You will permit me to repeat this here, because I am convinced that, however good the ends, the larger ends of the United Nations, or the lesser objectives which we may from time to time have before us, either as individual nations or as groups of nations, it is important that we should remember that the best of objectives may not be reached if our eyes are blood-shot and our minds clouded with passion.

Therefore, it becomes essential for us, for a while, to think more of how we are doing things than what we are aiming at, even though we should never forget what we are aiming at. It becomes necessary for us always to

1. Address to the third session of the U.N. General Assembly, at Palais de l'Élysée, Paris, 3 November 1948. File No. 42(12)/48-PMS.

remember the principles and the purposes for which this great Assembly was formed.

Now, a mere repetition of those principles and purposes would perhaps indicate to us how sometimes, with passion and prejudice, we swerve away from that path. This Assembly took shape after two mighty Wars and as a consequence of those Wars. In the Preamble of your Charter you recount these. What has been the lesson of those Wars ? Surely the lesson of those Wars has been that out of hatred and violence you will not build peace. It is a contradiction in terms. The lesson of history, the long course of history, and more especially the lesson of the last two great Wars which have devastated humanity, has been that out of hatred and violence only hatred and violence will come. We have got into a cycle of hatred and violence, and not the most brilliant debate will get you out of it, unless you look some other way and find some other means. It is obvious that if you continue in this cycle and have wars which this Assembly was especially meant to avoid and prevent, the result will not only be tremendous devastation all over the world but the non-achievement by any individual power or group of its objective.

How, then, are we to proceed ? It may be that it is difficult to get this hatred and prejudice and fear out of our minds. Nevertheless, unless we try to proceed in this way, to cast out this fear, we shall never succeed. Of that I am quite convinced.

You meet here representatives of all the nations of the world, or nearly all. Inevitably, you have before you the immediate great problems that confront more especially Europe, which has suffered so much.

May I say, as a representative from Asia, that we honour Europe for its culture and for the great advance in human civilization which it represents. May I say that we are equally interested in the solution of European problems; but may I also say that the world is something bigger than Europe, and you will not solve your problems by thinking that the problems of the world are mainly European problems. There are vast tracts of the world which may not in the past, for a few generations, have taken much part in world affairs. But they are awake; their people are moving, and they have no intention whatever of being ignored or of being passed by.

It is a simple fact that I think we have to remember, because unless you have the full picture of the world before you, you will not even understand the problem, and if you isolate any single problem in the world from the rest you do not understand the world problem. Today, I do venture to submit that Asia counts in world affairs. Tomorrow it will count much more than today. Asia till recently, was largely a prey to imperial domination and colonialism; a great part of it is free today; part of it still remains unfree; and it is an astonishing thing that any country should still venture to hold and to set forth this doctrine of colonialism, whether it is under direct rule or whether it is indirectly maintained in some form or other. After all that

has happened, there is going to be no mere objection to that, but active objection, an active struggle against any and every form of colonialism in any part of the world. That is the first thing to remember.

We in Asia, who have ourselves suffered all these evils of colonialism and of imperial domination, have committed ourselves inevitably to the freedom of every other colonial country. There are neighbouring countries of ours in Asia with whom we are intimately allied. We look to them with sympathy; we look at their struggle with sympathy. Any power, great or small, which in that way prevents the attainment of the freedom of those peoples does an ill turn to world peace. Great countries like India, who have passed out of that colonial stage do not conceive it possible that other countries should remain under the yoke of colonial rule. We in Asia regard it as a vital problem, because it has been a vital problem for us.

There is another question to which I want to draw attention—that is the question of racial equality, which is something which is laid down in the provisions of the United Nations Charter. It is well to repeat that, because after all this question of racial equality has frequently been spoken about in the Assembly of the United Nations.

I do not think I need dwell on any particular aspect of that question, but I would remind this Assembly of the world-wide aspects of this question. Obviously there are large regions of the world which have suffered from this racial inequality. We also feel that there is no part of the world where it can be tolerated in the future, except perhaps because of a superior force. If racial inequality is practised, if it is a menace to world peace and if it violates the principles of United Nations Charter, to tolerate it is obviously to sow seeds of conflicts.

The effects of this inequality in the past have made themselves felt in Asia, Africa and other parts of the world much more than in Europe, leading towards conflict in the future, because it is a problem which if it is not properly understood will not be solved.

It is a strange thing, when the world lacks so many things, food and other necessities, in many parts of the world and people are dying from hunger that the attention of this Assembly of Nations is concentrated on a number of political problems. There are economic problems also. I wonder if it would be possible for this Assembly for a while to take a holiday from some of the acute political problems which face it, and allow men's minds to settle down and look at the vital and urgent economic problems, and look at places in the world where food is lacking.

I feel that today the world is so tied up in fears, apprehensions, some of them justified no doubt, but where a person feels fear, evil consequences follow. Fear is not a good companion. It is surprising to see that this sense of fear is pervading great countries—fear, and grave fear of war, and fear of many things. Well, I think that is admitted, or it will be admitted, that no

aggression of any kind can be tolerated, because the very idea of aggression must upset the balance and lead to conflict. Aggression of every type must be resisted.

There are other forms of fear; there is the fear of war. In existing circumstances it is difficult for people to say that they will not defend themselves, because if there is a fear of aggression one has to defend one's self against aggression. We have to defend ourselves, but even in defending ourselves, we must not submit ourselves to this Assembly without clean hands. It is easy to condemn people. Let us not do so, for who is without blame, who cannot themselves be condemned? In a sense, of us all who are gathered here today in this continent of Europe—are there any amongst us who have not been guilty in many ways? We are all guilty men and women. While we are seeking points where error occurs, we should not forget that there are none of us who is exempt from blame.

If we proceed to this problem, and discuss in peace the psychology of fear, if we realize the consequences of what is happening, it is possible that this atmosphere of fear may be dissipated. Why should there be this fear of war? Let us prepare ourselves against any possible aggression, let no one think that any nation, any community can misbehave. The United Nations is here to prevent any fear or hurt; but at the same time let us banish all thought of an aggressive attitude whether by word or deed. However, I feel that few of us can altogether avoid this attitude, whether it is in the course of discussions before this Assembly or elsewhere. One tries to make one's points by this sort of language. It is always easy to make one's points in the course of a discussion but there always rests a bitterness which complicates the problem still further. As I have already said, I ask this Assembly to remember that such great problems cannot be solved if our eyes are blood-shot and our minds are obscured by passion.

I have no doubt that this Assembly is going to solve our problems. I am not afraid of the future. I have no fear in my mind, and I have no fear, even though India, from a military point of view, is of no great consequence. Still I am not afraid of the bigness of the great powers, and their armies, their fleets and their atom bombs. That is the lesson which my Master taught me. We stood as an unarmed people against a great country and a powerful empire. We were supported and strengthened because throughout all this period we decided not to submit to evil, and I think that is the lesson which I have before me and which is before us today. I do not know if it is possible to apply this to the problems which face the world today. It is a terrible problem, but I think if we banish this fear, if we have confidence, even though we may take risks of trust rather than to risk violent language, violent actions and in the end war, I think those risks are worth taking.

In any event, there are risks—and great risks. If it is a question of taking risks, why take risks which inevitably lead to greater conflict? Take the

other risks, while always preparing yourself to meet any possible contingency that may arise.

It is perhaps not very proper for me to address this great Assembly in such matters, because I have not been associated with it or with all these different problems in any intimate degree. However, there would have been no point in my addressing you merely to repeat certain pious phrases. I feel strongly about this matter, and that is why I should like to present the views and wishes of the Indian people. And the Indian people happen to be three hundred and thirty millions in number; it is well to remember that. We have had a year of freedom and a year of difficulty. We have overcome many of those difficulties and we shall overcome the others. We propose to go ahead at a rapid pace. We propose to build and construct and be a power for peace and for the good of the world. We propose to meet every aggression, from whatever quarter it comes, in every possible way open to us.

However, we do not think that the problems of the world or of India can be solved by thinking in terms of aggression or war or violence. We are frail mortals, and we cannot always live up to the teaching of the great man who led our nation to freedom. But that lesson has sunk deep into our souls and, so long as we remember it, I am sure we shall be on the right path. And, if I may venture to suggest this to the General Assembly, I think that if the essentials of that lesson—which is not alone a lesson of today, but the lesson of history—are kept in mind, perhaps our approach to the problems of today will be different; perhaps the conflicts that always hang over us will appear a little less deep than they are and actually will gradually fade away.

I should like to state to this General Assembly, on behalf of my people and my Government, that we adhere completely and absolutely to the principles and purposes of the United Nations Charter and that we shall try, to the best of our ability, to work for the realization of those principles and purposes.

In conclusion, may I congratulate the General Assembly on the resolution, introduced by the delegation of Mexico,² which it has just passed. It is certainly a great resolution. If the General Assembly follows up that resolution, it will go a long way on the road toward peace and the solution of the problems that are before us. We may not solve those problems. No one can be optimistic enough to think that all the problems will fade away simply if we feel good; that is not what I mean to say. The problems are difficult and intricate and they will take a lot of solving. But I do feel that our approach to those problems should not be the approach of anger and passion and fear. Then, perhaps, the problems will gradually appear in a

2. The Mexican resolution appealed to the great Powers to renew their efforts to compose their differences and establish lasting peace.

different light. Perhaps we shall understand the other side better; perhaps the fear of one another will grow less in our minds, and then a solution may come. At any rate, even if a solution does not come, this pall of fear that surrounds us will grow less, and that in itself will be a partial solution of the world problem.

I wish to thank the President³ for this opportunity that he has given me to speak to the General Assembly.

3. H.V. Evatt of Australia.

10. Strong Factors for Peace¹

I do not think any war is likely in the near future. Although the world is traversing the most severe political crisis, which normally might result in war, there are strong peace factors everywhere.

The two big blocs are not prepared for war and therein lies the people's salvation. In the meantime, the United Nations can, and will, settle all problems regarded as a menace to world peace. World problems cannot be solved without Asia coming into the picture.

Regarding the situation in Indonesia, if any further aggressive action is taken in Indonesia by a colonial power it might have grave repercussions in India and the world. There must be complete elimination of colonialism and imperialism there.

The peoples of the Orient and their leaders must meet and know each other on their home ground. I hope the relations between the Middle East and South East Asia will progress cordially to enable us to confront the big task ahead.

The Indian Draft Constitution which laid down an Independent Sovereign Indian Republic does not exclude cooperation with the United Kingdom and the Commonwealth.

1. Remarks at a press conference, Cairo, 4 November 1948. From *The Hindu*, 5 November 1948.

11. Report on his Trip Abroad¹

My visit abroad brought me in touch with many problems and with many leading personalities in the political world. In London I met leaders, both of the U.K. Government and the Opposition, as well as Prime Ministers and other statesmen of other Commonwealth countries. In Paris I met nearly every prominent delegate, including those from the U.S.A., U.S.S.R., U.K., other European countries, Middle East countries, China and the South East Asia, Latin America, etc. These contacts and discussions enriched me considerably and added to my knowledge of the present-day world and its problems. I was also enabled to see India not only from a distance but, to some extent, with other people's eyes. This helped me to view the problems of India as well as the relation of India to Asia and the rest of the world, in proper perspective.

2. I should like to share these experiences and information with my colleagues in the Cabinet. I hope to do so in some measure at least. But it is difficult for me to find the time to write lengthy reports on all such matters. We shall have to deal with certain rather urgent matters first and then, as time and opportunity allow, to discuss other matters.

3. Among the urgent matters is the question of India's relation to the Commonwealth. This will have to be separately considered by the Cabinet and, at a later stage, by the Constituent Assembly.

4. Another matter which has to be considered soon is Commonwealth consultation.

5. I should like to report to the Cabinet on the following topics also:—

- (1) The general world situation in regard to war and peace.
- (2) The problems before the U.N. Assembly.
- (3) The talks I had with prominent representatives at the U.N.
- (4) The work of the Indian Delegation to the U.N. Assembly.
- (5) The general question of India's representation abroad.
- (6) Asian relations.

6. This month's tour abroad and the contact that I made and what I saw impressed upon me the fact that India had almost inevitably taken up a prominent place in world affairs. This may be a pleasing thought, but it brings great responsibilities in its train. It was of course a development that was bound to take place. But it has taken place sooner than I expected, in spite of all that has happened during the past year and in spite of Kashmir

1. Note to the Cabinet Members on the conclusion of his visit to London, Paris and Cairo, 6 November 1948. J.N. Collection.

and Hyderabad. There was almost a unanimous recognition of this fact, even though some people may have questioned our action in Kashmir and Hyderabad, or might still feel doubtful about it. In this larger context Pakistan hardly appeared, because Pakistan was nowhere in the same rank as India in people's minds. It was India that made a difference and would make a difference, not Pakistan. Occasionally it was suggested that it would be a good thing if India and Pakistan composed their differences and presented a joint front. Apart from this, there was hardly any reference to our disputes.

7. So far as the great Western Powers were concerned it was taken for granted that India was the leading nation of Asia and therefore India's goodwill and cooperation should be sought. So far as Asian nations were concerned, they looked to India for leadership. Even the countries in Latin America were very conscious of the fact of India's emergence as a country to be reckoned with in world affairs, and were eager to have our friendship.

8. All this leads to far-reaching consequences. The first of these is that we should have a full conception of this distinct role of India. For my part I emphasized always that India had no desire for leadership of Asia or anywhere else. All that she wanted was cooperation in the big tasks of Asia and the world. But the fact remained that on account of many factors, the eyes of a good part of the world turned to India.

9. This leads to a careful consideration of our foreign relations and foreign establishments.

10. I should like to say that on the whole I formed an agreeable impression of the work of the younger men and sometimes women, in our diplomatic service. They were bright and eager and were well spoken of. Some of them have not had sufficient training yet, but they are shaping well.

11. Our foreign establishments have undoubtedly added greatly to our prestige abroad. Indians abroad are not only helped by them but have risen in stature because of them. I was informed by Professor Harold Laski in London that the many Indian students with whom he came in contact had undergone a marked psychological change for the better since the coming of independence for India. They have grown in stature and self-confidence.

12. It is true that Indians abroad sometimes complain of our embassies etc. They do not realise the limitations in regard to accommodation, finance, and personnel under which we work, and they expect the embassies to do all manner of things for them, for which no embassy is usually intended. But generally speaking there is an appreciation of the work of our establishments abroad.

13. The Heads of our Missions in foreign countries have, as a whole, functioned satisfactorily. The biggest of such establishments is of course India.

House in London which employs about 950 persons and is in a way a miniature Government of India with its various departments. In spite of this large number of employees, I gathered the impression that in some departments more staff was needed. India House seemed to me, after a brief inspection, an efficiently run organisation. The High Commissioner, Shri V.K. Krishna Menon, has brought about a great change in the last year or so. He has a high reputation with the British Government and with foreign diplomats in London. He is generally popular with various classes of people in London, like the Members of Parliament, newspapermen, scientists, etc. He organised separate parties for me to meet these various groups. Indian students are far better catered for now than they were previously, and India House seemed to work harmoniously and as a team.

14. I heard good reports about our Swiss Minister, Shri Dhirajlal Desai. He was certainly very popular with the Swiss Government and people as well as foreign diplomats there. He has got excellent contacts with business circles and I think his recommendations can be relied upon. In Cairo, my impression after a brief visit was that our Ambassador, Dr. Syud Hossain got on very well with the Egyptian Government, the foreign diplomats and the Indian community. He has thus far not succeeded in obtaining suitable accommodation for his chancery and has to work in three or four small hired rooms. As for the embassy, he functions in a hotel suite.

15. I was greatly disappointed with the state of affairs in Paris. The accommodation that we have is pitiable, almost it might be said disgraceful, and no proper work can be done there. Our embassy there was established eight or nine months ago and the result thus far has not been satisfactory.

16. So far as the Indian Delegation to the U.N. Assembly is concerned, it has had to contend with peculiar difficulties this year. The U.N. Assembly has got tied up with a number of serious problems and can find no way out. The result is that many members of our delegation have hardly had any chance to do much effective work except listening. The session drags on and no one quite knows when it will finish. Probably it will go on till the middle of December.

17. Our delegation has however, within these limitations, done well. They have certainly produced a good impression on the other delegations. India is generally looked upon in the U.N. as the fourth or fifth most important country—the first three being the U.S.A., U.S.S.R., U.K. and a possible fourth, France. Indeed a leading foreign delegate told me that in his judgement India and France were bracketed together in fourth place for importance. China is rather out of the picture.

18. The leader of our U.N. Delegation, Shrimati Vijayalakshmi Pandit, is an outstanding figure in the U.N. and is exceedingly popular. I noticed that she was frequently approached for advice and help not only by the Asian countries but also many other of the smaller countries. The bigger

Powers were also eager to have India's cooperation. Because she had gone to the U.N. for two or three years consecutively, she was personally known to most of the delegates and this was a considerable help.

19. Our other delegates did their work satisfactorily. Shri B.N. Rau came into prominence because of his chairmanship of a committee on atomic energy and immediately his worth was realised. The Jamsaheb,² it seemed to me, did a lot of good work, much of it behind the scenes. Shri J.R.D. Tata was spoken of well by some of the members of the Committee in which he worked. Shri Shiva Rao, having been to the U.N. previously, was fairly well-known and took a prominent part in the work of his committee.

20. Among the alternates and advisers, I should like to mention specially Professor Habib,³ who devoted himself most earnestly to his work and whose chief fault was his shyness and his desire not to thrust himself anywhere, and Shrimati Lakshmi Menon⁴ about whom Mrs. Roosevelt spoke to me in appreciative terms. I am not mentioning any other names here because the list would be long. Shri Setalvad was of course a tower of strength to our delegation. But he had little chance to take an active part in the committee he was in, because the U.N. was tied up with certain questions and never got forward.

21. I found that nearly all delegations were of a permanent or semi-permanent character and consisted of officials and experts. Non-officials practically found no place in them. The same officials came again and again, year after year, and thus became experts on the problems discussed, which appeared repeatedly on the agenda. A new person going is completely at sea for a considerable time.

22. A very important part of the work at the U.N. are the contacts on a social level where private discussions take place. It is important that our delegates should have the experience to maintain such contacts. Fortunately several delegates of ours were successful in this respect.

23. I felt that the delegation we had sent this year was bigger than was necessary. I think in all there were about 18 or 20 including advisers etc. Compared to the bigger powers, this was a very small number. The U.K. had 300 persons in their delegations. The U.S.A. probably had a like number or more, and all these persons were in the nature of experts. I think that we

2. Jamshree Digvijaysinhji, Jamsaheb of Nawanagar.

3. Mohammad Nasim Habib went to Paris, in September 1948, as an Alternate Representative on the Indian Delegation to the U.N.

4. Lakshmi N. Menon (b. 1899); lecturer in various colleges, 1922-33; General Secretary, All India Women's Conference, 1928-44; Chief, Secretariat on the Status of Women in the Human Rights Division, U.N. Secretariat, 1949-50, Member, Rajya Sabha, 1952-66; Parliamentary Secretary to the Prime Minister, 1952-57; Deputy Minister, Ministry of External Affairs, 1957-62, and Minister of State, 1962-66; author of *The Position of Women* (1944).

could well reduce the number of our delegation to about 12 or so, but on the distinct understanding that they are more or less experts at their job and do not merely fill gaps. This means that a large proportion of them should go year after year and keep in touch with developments. It means that our permanent representative at the U.N. as well as probably two other persons should specialise in the U.N. work.

24. I was horrified at the expenses of all these delegations. Paris is a frightfully expensive city and it is not easy to live inexpensively there without seriously impairing our work. A delegation has to choose a decent habitation. Nevertheless, I think it is possible to economise in future, provided we start making our arrangements in good time, that is, several months ahead, and choose suitable accommodation, which is the most expensive item. Usually we start too late with the result that all the good places have been engaged.

25. The Secretary-General⁵ was of great help to me both in the London Commonwealth Conference and in Paris. His great experience and his personal acquaintanceship with many of the people we met there, as well as his expert knowledge of French and Persian, were very helpful. Our High Commissioner in London was also exceedingly helpful in London in every way. He supplied secretaries, typists etc. both in London and Paris and we found the young men and women (Indian of course) very efficient and well-trained.

26. I decided to leave the Secretary-General in Paris for an extra week for two reasons. Firstly, because I thought that the report of the U.N. Kashmir Commission might be coming out within a few days and his presence there might prove helpful. Secondly, because I wanted him to carry on talks with representatives of the Asian countries whom I had previously met, in regard to closer forms of cooperation between us.

27. During my stay in London and Paris, news of a developing crisis in Indonesia reached us. I laid stress on this in various ways both at the Commonwealth Conference and in Paris in my private talks. I think I produced an impression on all concerned, but I rather doubt if this is enough to ward off the impending crisis. This matter is of great importance to us and will have to be discussed separately in Cabinet.

28. I should like to add that Lord and Lady Mountbatten were of the greatest help to us in a variety of ways. Apart from the personal friendship they showed, they went out of their way to help India's cause whenever an opportunity offered itself.

5. G.S. Bajpai.

12. To Lady Mountbatten¹

New Delhi
November 7, 1948

My dear Edwina,

You will remember speaking to me about the proposal to hold a conference in Calcutta under the auspices of the Women's International Democratic Federation. I had further enquiries made and I enclose a note² which H.V.R. Iengar, Secretary, Home Minister, has sent on the subject.

In this note a reference is made to the South East Asian Students' Conference that was held in Calcutta early this year. This particular conference has attained some kind of niche in history as being the fore-runner of uprisings in Burma and Malaya, as well as of attempted upheavals in some parts of India. I remember that the conference was objected to at the time, but I was against prohibiting it or putting any obstructions in its way. It was largely due to me that the conference was held and any delegates coming to it from abroad were supplied with visas. The conference itself was an unruly affair and there was even some shooting indulged in by the delegates. But we subsequently discovered that the conference was just a cloak for secret meetings which decided the whole future policy of the Communist Party in India as well as South East Asia. We have pretty full accounts of all this, and subsequent events confirm them completely. It is now a recognised fact by all well informed persons that this Calcutta conference immediately led to what happened soon after in Burma, Malaya, India and to some extent, Siam. It indirectly affected Indonesia also. We happened to be strong enough to deal with the situation in India, otherwise I have little doubt that things would have been pretty bad in this country, especially as we were struggling with the after-effects of partition. In Burma and Malaya events took a much worse turn.

Personally I am quite convinced that, whatever the motives of the people behind these upheavals might have been, they have done very great injury to the countries concerned. In the nature of things they could not achieve anything constructive. All that they could do was to destroy and create chaos and leave a trail of misery, hatred and violence behind them.

With this experience fresh in our minds, it is a little difficult to agree to anything which might mean, even remotely, a repetition of such an experience. The Women's International Democratic Federation is supposed to be non-party in character and I have no doubt that it contains various elements, many of which are progressive and admirable. But I have also no doubt whatever that any conference held under its auspices in India would be dominated by communists from outside India, whose chief purpose is not

1. J.N. Collection.
2. Not printed.

to think in terms of the progress of women in India or South East Asia but to confer about entirely other matters. So far as I know, there is no country in Asia at present where they can meet for this purpose and so India is chosen. Our neighbour countries take strong exception to our giving such facilities for further intrigues in South East Asia. It may be that our fears are exaggerated. But there is the risk and I doubt if any government would easily take that risk in the situation that exists today in India and South East Asia.

A delegation from the Women's International Democratic Federation visited India sometimes back, probably a year ago or more. That delegation produced subsequently a report which was a very bad one from our point of view. I might mention that that delegation also came here because I interested myself in having visas issued to them.

You will see from the attached note that the All India Women's Conference has nothing to do with the Women's International Democratic Federation and disapproves of it. Indeed I am not aware of any organization of any note in India which favours the holding of the proposed conference here.

Conditions all over South East Asia are volcanic. In India we are more favourably situated, but it would be folly to take things for granted. Indeed only recently, during the last few days we have had major acts of sabotage in Calcutta. The whole of the telephone exchange in Calcutta has been destroyed and the telephone system has otherwise also been interfered with deliberately. There can be no doubt that this was a well-organised effort. Exactly who did it, I cannot say, though such information as we have received goes to show that probably certain Communists or so-called Communists were behind it. This is a very serious affair. For some time past we have been receiving information that the Communist Party in India, having been held in check in many of its activities, had decided to indulge in sabotage of our plants and means of communication. Why such a policy should be adopted by normally intelligent human beings, whatever their convictions might be, passes my comprehension.

You know that I have had strong leanings, towards communism and have had many friends among Communists. Ideologically there is a great deal in the communist doctrine which appeals to me, though I do feel that this business of accepting what Marx or Lenin or Stalin might have said as dogma, is not good enough. More specially I do not approve at all (and indeed it is against orthodox Marx doctrine) of the internal politics of a country being judged from the point of view of the foreign policy of Russia. I am sure this is doing a lot of harm to the cause of communism itself. It has isolated communism in South East Asia from nationalism which is the dominant urge of the people. It has created terrible hatred and made violence including private violence, far too common.

I confess also that I cannot swallow the utter lack of moral scruple or of integrity which Communists often show.

I have written to you at some length on this matter because I am always worried when there is any suppression of civil liberties, and I wanted you to understand how my mind was working in this matter. India had a terrible dose of violence after the partition. One may say that the seeds were there and they came out when they got the chance to do so. The after-effects of that violence are visible in people's minds everywhere. There is the R.S.S. with its fascist ideology on one side and the Communist Party and like organisations on the other. It is no easy matter to keep in check this tendency to violence. If there is any loosening on one side, the other reacts immediately.

Yours,
Jawaharlal

13. Cable to Vijayalakshmi Pandit¹

Your telegram 148D dated 8th November.² None of the resolutions on disarmament are entirely satisfactory. The majority resolution³ asks for full information, checking and publication before any plan of disarmament has been approved of. It is probable that some States may be unwilling to give this information till the formulation of a disarmament plan. Nevertheless in the balance we agree that India should support majority resolution but you should point out lacuna mentioned above and say that plan to supply information and right of international organ to check this information, particularly the latter, should really be pursuant to any plan of disarmament that may be ultimately approved.

1. New Delhi, 9 November 1948. File No. 1(84)UN II/48-M.E.A. & C.R., N.A.I.
2. Vijayalakshmi Pandit sought instructions as to whether India should support the main resolution which aimed at the regulation and reduction of conventional armaments only or the Soviet proposal which called for prohibition of atomic weapons and reduction of land, naval and air forces by one third during a year by the permanent members of the Security Council as a first step to disarmament.
3. The majority resolution had the backing of Belgium, Brazil, China, France, Lebanon, U.K. and U.S.A. while Poland and Soviet Union had opposed it as all reference to the Soviet proposal was omitted from it.

14. International Cooperation¹

Mr. Chairman² and Delegates³ to the Asian Commission of the International Meteorological Organisation,

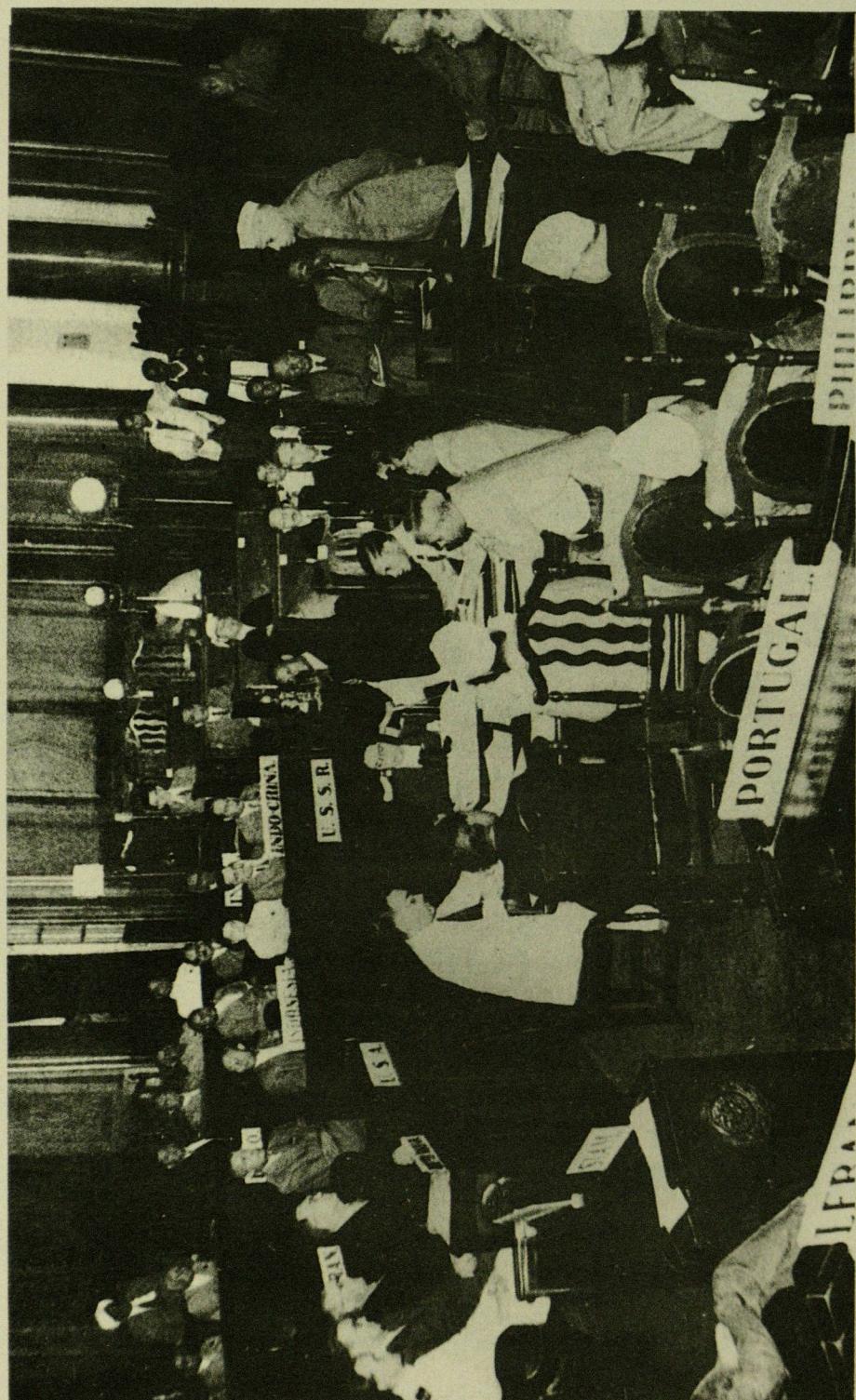
I do not quite know why I am here, that is to say, what particular qualification I possess to be present at this conference of people who are presumed to be experts in a particular branch of science, except for a certain general interest of mine in science and scientific development, and a vague knowledge, such as possibly a semi-literate might possess. I have no expert knowledge on the subject and therefore I feel rather small in this gathering of experts.

However, I have come here not to talk so much about meteorology, about which you know much more than I do, but to offer you a cordial welcome on behalf of the Government of India and to express our pleasure that you have come from distant countries to meet here in Delhi and to consider these problems in a spirit not of national rivalry, but of international cooperation.

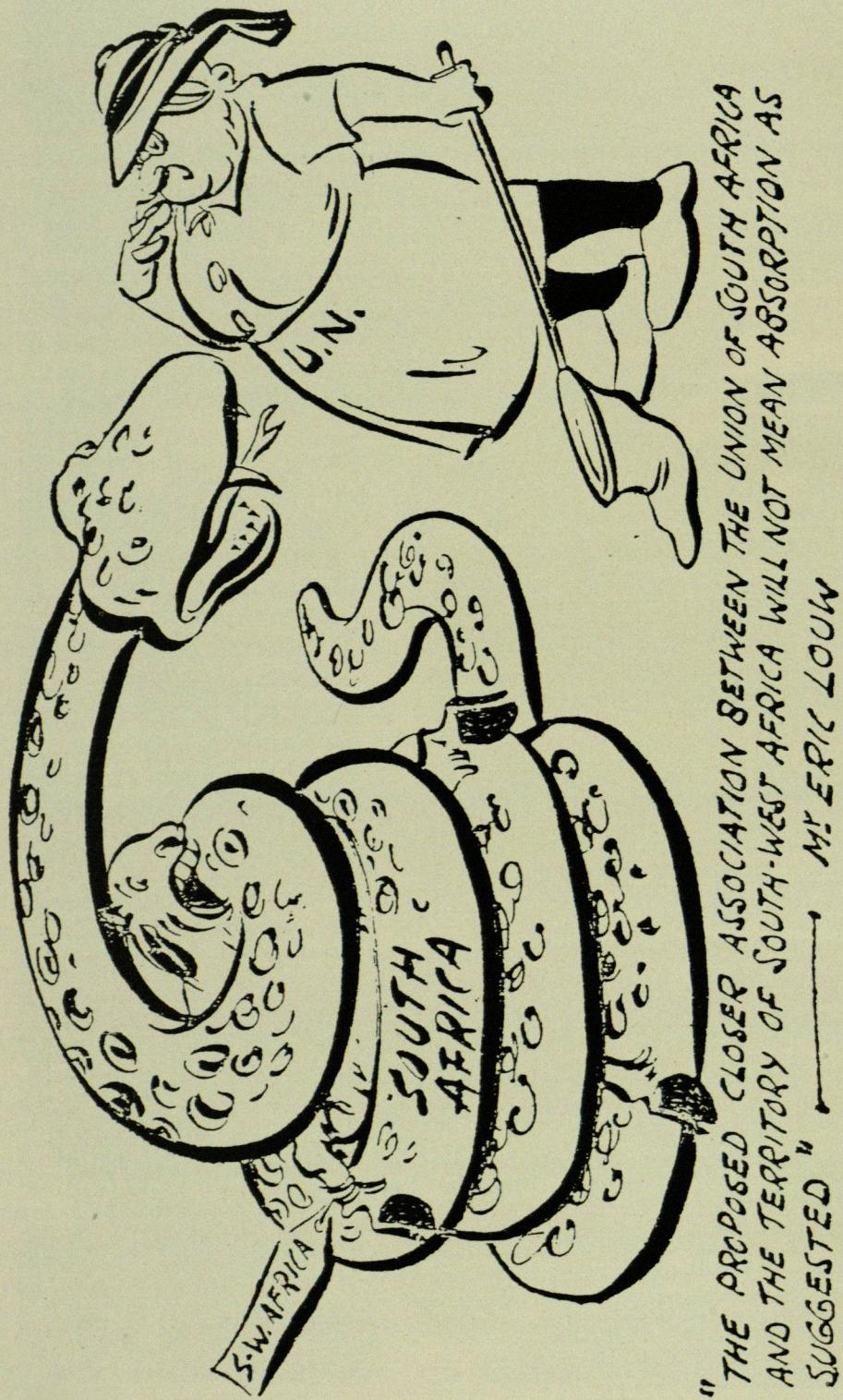
In the world today, we have this very peculiar contradiction or rivalry of opposite forces. On one side we see an inevitable development of international cooperation. The world today cannot get on without that international cooperation, and one such instance in this Conference and this International Meteorological Organisation, as the previous speaker⁴ mentioned. Weather conditions or such like other conditions do not take cognizance of national frontiers. They fly over them and they affect them. Something that happens in a far-off country affects us here and if we function in this field as unfortunately most of us do in other fields, on strictly narrow lines, and think that artificial frontiers divide human beings completely, then there would be no progress in this branch of science or any other.

So on the one hand we have this inevitable development for international cooperation, and on the other we have, I hope not inevitably, but unfortu-

1. Address to the first session of the Asian Commission of the International Meteorological Organisation, New Delhi, 10 November 1948. J.N. Papers, N.M.M.L.
2. Sudhangshu Kumar Banerji (1893-1966); Professor of Applied Mathematics, Calcutta University; Director, Bombay and Alibagh Observatories, 1922-27; Director General of Observatories, 1944-50.
3. Delegates from Burma, Sri Lanka, Hong Kong, Indo-China, Indonesia, Japan, Malaya, Pakistan, the Philippines and Siam and observers from U.K., U.S.A. and Australia attended the conference. The International Civil Aviation Organisation and the International Meteorological Organisation were also represented.
4. S.K. Banerji, leader of the Indian delegation and President of the Conference, had said that international cooperation was essential as anything that happened in the Atlantic or China Seas affected weather conditions in India.



ADDRESSING ASIAN COMMISSION OF THE INTERNATIONAL METEOROLOGICAL
ORGANISATION, NEW DELHI, 10 NOVEMBER 1948



A CARTOON BY ENVER AHMED, THE HINDUSTAN TIMES, 14 NOVEMBER 1948

nately, a very obvious narrowing of peoples' minds and their functioning strictly and narrowly on the nationalist plane. Which force will win through in the end is a little difficult to say, though, I suppose it can be said that ultimately it is the force of international cooperation that must win through because if it does not win through, then nothing wins through. It is not that the other force wins through but that something which is rather negative and rather disastrous wins through. Many of the activities of the world, national or international, suffer greatly in consequence.

So it is a good thing that we take advantage of all these opportunities for international cooperation not only because it is good in their particular field of activity but because they affect the larger field of human relations in the world and make people realise that after all the world is being carried on today by a great measure of international cooperation. In this context the communications system becomes more and more international and so many other branches of science can only progress internationally.

Therefore, I welcome all the delegates who have come here and I hope that your labours will bear fruit in this particular branch of science which is so important for human welfare as well as in the larger field of human relations.

15. India and the World¹

I was told that this press conference was eagerly awaited. There is too much expectation but nothing very wonderful may transpire than what I have already stated in regard to the Commonwealth Premiers Conference. Presumably you expect me to say something in regard to my visit to Europe, the Commonwealth Conference and the question of India's relation to the United Kingdom and the Commonwealth.

So far as the Commonwealth Conference was concerned, it discussed many matters, European affairs, Asian, South East Asian, etc. but there were no decisions of any kind taken on any of the issues and they did not discuss, as I stated, India's relation to Commonwealth. That was an idea and

1. Proceedings of a press conference held in Delhi, 12 November 1948. J.N. Papers, N.M.M.L. For the last few paragraphs dealing with domestic issues, see *post*, section 12, item 9.

I discussed this matter with some of the Dominion statesmen, notably the Prime Minister of the United Kingdom and there is nothing more now to say than what I have already said. In regard to this matter, so far as we are concerned, the decision has to be finally made by the Constituent Assembly. Naturally, before decisions are made certain explorations take place and certain recommendations are made and I had to talk and find out what the position was. Secondly, I could only talk on the basis of what the Constituent Assembly had already decided and that was the content of the Objectives Resolution of the Assembly which mentions the phrase "Sovereign Independent Republic." So, with this background I had to talk. I said that it would be desirable naturally for the largest measure of cooperation to take place and we discussed the possibilities and we shall no doubt go on discussing in the Constituent Assembly as to what the possibilities are.

We would continue with informal discussions and then it may be a little more formal and ultimately if something definite emerges the Government and the Constituent Assembly would formally consider. They must take note of what the Constituent Assembly has done. It was inevitable, not because I feel so, but by virtue of historical processes it has to be a complete Independent Republic. Any other course would not only be not in keeping with the whole trend of historical development, but it will also lead to all kinds of difficulties which really would come far more in the way of cooperation than if we proceeded by first accepting and admitting that India was a completely Independent Sovereign Republic. Now that being so, the approach and the possibilities are limited. My personal feeling—and of those of us who think like me—is that in the world as it is today, it is not desirable to break the contact and links and seek isolation as far as possible. No country can be completely isolated, whether it is in isolation or not, or whether it is constitutional or otherwise, it is immaterial. It cannot be. Therefore, subject to our being completely independent, not only in fact and constitution, but in practice in regard to our domestic and external policies by the various ways which we consider to be right, I should like to develop as many contacts as possible. Now apart from the world contact, you might say the United Nations and there is a continuing contact with Commonwealth countries; there are both advantages in it and certain disadvantages. We try to find a balance between them. It is a contact which can bring a number of mutual advantages to all concerned, provided it is looked upon in this new way.

Again, I think from the point of view of historical development and geography, it is inevitable that India should develop contacts with various countries in Asia and our neighbouring countries. There has been an urge in this direction not only in India, but in those countries, and nothing should be done to prevent those contacts from developing very closer associations etc. We have more and more to do everywhere in terms of regional relation-

ships, not as one region being opposed to another, but helping each other in various ways and bringing about such cooperation *inter se* as possible. So, I am all in favour of increasing these contacts without making them in any sense limiting factors in regard to our independence or freedom of action. Of course, there are always limiting factors such as those brought about by any constitutional impediment of a country's freedom of action; that of course is different. That is our general approach to this problem and we shall continue conferring amongst ourselves and the United Kingdom Government and other Dominion Governments to find how far this approach can be realised in practice and to be accepted by all the parties concerned.

I just referred to India developing further contacts with Asian countries. During my brief stay in Paris, quite a number of Asiatic nations there in the United Nations had discussed this matter with me and we began really by talking about the Asian Relations Conference that was held nearly two years ago and of which another session is due early next year. I found a very marked desire among those representatives of Asian countries for closer contacts, not constitutional but some kind of contact for regular information, cooperation; we can cooperate, of course in the United Nations without binding anybody; we can cooperate in other matters, so that in regard to that too we had the discussion. There was a desire present and whether that will lead us really to anything definite now, or a little later or sometime after that I cannot say. My point is that if you look at this picture in any historical perspective that is an inevitable development. I rather deprecate talking about India's leadership in Asia or anywhere. I do not like this business of leadership, but the fact is, whether it is leadership or not, various matters like the geographical position of India, the resources of India, the bigness of India, the potential of India, etc. etc. make India far the easiest meeting ground of all the east, south, west Asian countries. In a matter connected with the economy, south, west or east Asia is keeping some kind of defence and thus India becomes a pivot of it; it is so situated. Of course, if the people of India themselves cannot keep themselves going properly it is a different matter. It is a matter of historical development; it is bound to happen and we wish to encourage that kind of thing happening, not as any kind of grouping against anybody, but personally, of course in a sense to protect one's own interests; secondly, to exercise those interests, those joint interests in favour of world peace.

I said to protect one's own interests. What are these interests? At the present moment, see what is happening in Indonesia in which India is intensely interested, and if by any chance things flared up there again as the result of any aggressive action, it is going to have most far-reaching results; let there be no doubt about it. I hope I am not wrong, but I think that the chances of avoidance of such action there are more marked than they were

before; I hope so. I hope it is not wishful thinking, but I think there is more chance there of a peaceful means being employed, at any rate, no flare up as was feared only a few weeks ago, but nothing certain, but the point is that this kind of thing which had happened in Indonesia and what has been happening in Indonesia, it has an important consequence; it has a much greater significance, in every sense of the word, in regard to the whole of South East Asia, Southern Asia, etc.

I found a lack of realization of all these aspects of such questions in both London and Paris. The people were so concentrated on their immediate problems such as the Western Union—this is no doubt a very important problem—but they do not see the other problems which not only are important in themselves, but which affect their problem vitally. I think that our joint discussions in both the places helped a little to bring the proper perspective in the consideration of these problems.

Question : Something about French India ?

Jawaharlal Nehru : For the last year and a half, I think at least a year, we have been discussing the future of the French possessions in India with the representative of the French Government here. The mere fact that we have been discussing it for over a year shows that we have not tried to rush things because we are very anxious to proceed in a cooperative way with France. We want to maintain the closest and friendly relations with France and there seems to be no reason why the future of the French possessions in India should give rise to any real vital conflict. Again, if you look at the matter with any sense of perspective, there can be only one future for them, and that is union with India. We are prepared to allow matters to take shape themselves with a gentle, if I may say so, pushing by us, and without any attempt to make things difficult in any way. Ultimately, we can come to agreement with the French Government about referendum. There are various stages, I need not go into them. One trouble was this: our information was to the effect that elections in some of these possessions were likely to be—they had been awful in the past—entirely unsatisfactory, not giving a free choice to the people there to do as they liked. We drew the attention of the French Government to the urgency of this fact. Then, various things happened. Ultimately some elections were held in various places, and the elections in South India were, to our knowledge, entirely unsatisfactory: I am not talking about the results, but about the methods. There the matter stands.

Meanwhile, a curious thing happened. I was away then. In Mahe, a tiny little place in the western coast, with a population of 18,000 or 20,000, suddenly it appeared that some kind of conflict took place; a crowd gathered and the administrator there disappeared. A great deal of publicity was given to this fact—I was then in Paris—in the French press and it was made out that people from India proper, or may be, the Government of India, were trying to help them. I do not know, not having been here, what appeared.

in the Indian press at the time. It is perfectly clear that the incident was a relatively petty incident. Nobody from here had anything to do about it. A group of 200 or 300 people gathered together, who had gone to protest against some happening in the elections. They were slightly offended by some official, apparently there was a little retaliation. Obviously, the administrator thought that discretion was the better part of valour and disappeared. He went to some place and he came back after two or three days. The point I should like to make perfectly clear is this: actually our instructions to the authorities round about Mahe, the District Magistrate, were to prevent people from going there. They did so; naturally neither he nor I can guarantee that no persons went; there was no heavy influx. When this trouble occurred in Mahe, he offered to the Administrator help in avoiding any conflict or trouble, that offer was not accepted. The Government of India had absolutely nothing to do with this and it is very wrong for any one to try to cast blame on the Government of India. The Government of India has during the past year deliberately tried to stop any such occurrence in the French possessions. In Chandannagore something happened last year; through our efforts, it was stopped. As a matter of fact, these possessions have existed in India for a long period; some of them have been for a very long time. During the last 150 years or so, they have existed in India because of the goodwill of the dominant authority in India. Obviously, they could not exist except with the goodwill of the dominant authority in India which was the British power. These possessions can only exist through the goodwill of the dominant authority in India. There is no other way for them to exist. We do not want any of these troubles to occur. In Mahe, this little place, some kind of warship, cruiser or sloops were sent. As a result, out of this population of 18,000, half of it has gone out of Mahe; anything up to 10,000 persons have walked out of Mahe presumably because they were afraid when they heard that sloops, or cruisers were coming. Whatever might have happened, it was a most unsatisfactory state of affairs that half of the population of Mahe had just walked across and is rather frightened that anything might happen. Obviously they must go back and if I may venture to advise the French Government there, it would be an exceedingly unwise thing to start trying to punish the people there in any way, because, that would again start a cycle of trouble. Let them all go back without any punishment or steps being taken in regard to these people.

As for the future of these possessions, it is difficult for me to say what the next step may be. As I have told you there is only one future for them viz., union with India, though we do not wish to proceed in an agitated frame of mind and we do not wish to fall out in any way with the French Government especially as the Government of France is at present involved in facing grave questions of its own. But the matter cannot be kept hanging also

and we hope that the matter will be reconsidered soon as between the two Governments and a way out found.

Then, someone mentioned about South Africa. The matter you know is on the agenda of the United Nations Assembly but I am not quite sure whether it will come up as there is a tremendously big agenda but so far as we are concerned i.e., the Government of India, the position is unchanged there and we are going to press it. You will remember our stand in it is not the interest of protecting Indian citizens abroad—not that—but it is essentially an interest in putting an end to gross racial discrimination. It is the human interest as well as certainly the interest that we feel for people of Indian origin. We shall proceed in this matter again cautiously. Here too conditions have deteriorated by the actions of the new Government but on our side we have tried to proceed cautiously—to avoid trouble. We have naturally had our say in the United Nations Assembly and elsewhere in our communications but we have not precipitated matters. The world is bad enough and we did not want to add to the conflicts.

Q : What is the attitude of Pakistan in this matter ?

JN: I have not discussed this matter with the Pakistan Prime Minister, but I am quite sure Pakistan's attitude is bound to be in support of this. They cannot adopt any other attitude. What minor alignments they might have, I don't know.

Q: What is the future of Portuguese territories in India ?

JN : Same as of French India.

Q: What about your talks in Cairo, especially with Azzam Pasha, Secretary General of the Arab League?

JN : Unfortunately Azzam Pasha was rather ill. In fact he was in bed most of the time although he gave a very big party to us and I met him at the party, I hardly had any talk with him except in the party. But that is obviously rather an evasive answer.

But as a matter of fact such talks as I had in Egypt—and I was very glad to spend even a day there and I met many people—were largely concerned with that same conception which I had mentioned to you viz., about development of India's contacts with Asian countries and in considering this we considered Egypt also as an Asian country. We did not discuss anything detailed or specific. You know perhaps that we are going to have an Ambassador of Egypt in India soon—Mr. Ismail Kamal Bey. I am glad he is coming here. I found him a most delightful person, very learned, scholarly and intensely interested in India—he knew a great deal about India and he said—and I think he did not mean it merely as a compliment—he said he had looked upon India as a second home throughout his life although he had never come to India.

Q : You met Mr. Vyshinsky and Mr. Churchill and we would like to know exactly what happened.

JN : I met Mr. Vyshinsky three times, once rather a long interview—just a talk, once a dinner at my house and once a dinner at the Russian Embassy. Of course we had fairly long talks although the longest talk was shortened by the presence of interpreters but they were very interesting and we had talks about not only the immediate problems but about the world in general. I don't know what more you can expect me to say about my talks with Mr. Vyshinsky, except that we had very friendly talks. Mr. Vyshinsky though in his speeches may often be fierce, relaxes considerably after a good meal.

As for Mr. Churchill, I happened to meet him also at two dinner parties and at a function, and on one of these occasions we had one slightly longer talk, mostly about the past, not so much about the future. The one thing that may interest you was one question he put to me. He asked what I may be doing about the land problem. I said 'Well, we are doing away with zamindars, we are liquidating *patwaris* and landlordism by paying compensation. He said 'You know I have always thought that the agrarian system in India was bad and had to be changed. I myself intended to take some such steps in times ago but then something happened etc. to delay it.'

Mr. Durga Das² mentioned Ceylon. Briefly, about Ceylon this is the position. Again for the last year or more we have been carrying on talks on as friendly a basis as possible. We expressed and we meant it on both sides, great friendliness to each other but somehow when we come down to actually what should be done, there is a gap between our respective opinions and that appeared rather markedly recently when certain proposals were mentioned—the Indian Citizenship proposals. We made some suggestions for their change. But we do think that the proposals that have been put forward are very unsatisfactory and will injuriously affect a very large number of Indian people and we have therefore pointed out in the most emphatic language our viewpoint to Ceylon Government. There has been a great deal of misapprehension about the position and we have suggested to the Ceylon Government that our correspondence might be published.

Q : What about the references of the South African delegate to Hyderabad in the U.N. ?

2. (1900-74); Parliamentary Correspondent and Editor, Associated Press of India, 1918-37; Special Representative, *The Statesman*, 1938-44; Joint Editor, *The Hindustan Times*, 1944-47, Chief Editor, 1957-60; Editor in Chief, India News and Feature Alliance, New Delhi, 1966; author of *India from Curzon to Nehru and After*.

JN : Mr. Louw³ was no doubt justly enraged at what Mrs. Pandit said⁴ — not justly but naturally, and he said something which was totally irrelevant to the issue.⁵ There is nothing about Hyderabad left before the Security Council and so far as we are concerned we informed the Security Council that we were not interested in it any further. The matter ends. We had sent a delegate and he has come back. I have read from time to time what has appeared in the Pakistan press about the conditions in Hyderabad and it has also been stated by some people in Paris and London. I suppose you know that it is open to anybody to go to Hyderabad and on behalf of the Government it has been suggested to press correspondents, specially correspondents of other countries, to go there and see for themselves, and I hope they will take an opportunity to see for themselves. I have had reports about Hyderabad and so far as these reports go it establishes that the conditions there are fairly satisfactory, returning to normal. In Hyderabad conditions are quite normal and in some rural areas there has been a little trouble. But we know it is universally admitted that the rule of the Indian troops has been very good and has been very much appreciated by all sections of the population there. It is a very big problem administratively, quite apart from the common aspects of it and the political aspect of which is big enough. And this whole system is automatically gradually changing. On our part we wanted that system to continue as far as possible. Still the Constituent Assembly and local institutions grew up to undertake that change because things change themselves, so that some changes do come in. But I would also suggest that we are not afraid of any kind of attempt to find out what the truth is and we welcome newspapermen going there and seeing for themselves and telling us and the world what it is. We may profit by their information.

3. Eric Hendrik Louw (1890-1968); South African politician; Minister of Economic Affairs, 1948-54, of Finance, 1955-56, of Foreign Affairs, 1956—December 1963; Representative to U.N. Assembly, 1948-49, 1956, 1958-62; South African Prime Minister's Representative to Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Meeting, London, 1948, 1957 and 1960.
4. Speaking in a debate on South-West Africa on 10 November 1948 at Paris, Vijayalakshmi Pandit held that the proposed incorporation of South-West Africa was contrary to the assurances given by the Union Government. The latter had repeatedly ignored the recommendations of the Assembly to place South-West Africa under U.N. trusteeship. Referring to the gravely deteriorating condition among the indigenous population, she urged the U.N. Trusteeship Committee to send an impartial commission to South-West Africa to find out if the people were "against trusteeship and in favour of incorporation" as alleged by the Union Government.
5. Replying to Vijayalakshmi Pandit's speech, Louw refuted that any assurance had been given by the Government regarding South-West Africa. He stated that it ill-became India to make charges of ruthless discrimination in view of the fact that a "most vicious and cruel form of social discrimination" was being perpetuated in India, and more so, in view of the bombing of Hyderabad and the slaughter of Muslims in Kashmir, Punjab and even Delhi.

The Standstill Agreement⁶ is going to finish as such. I cannot tell you exactly what will be the exact form, but it is obvious that so far as the essential things are concerned, that is, foreign affairs, defence and communications, they will continue to be in charge of the Government of India whatever final decisions may be in regard to Hyderabad. In fact our case has been that at no time in history, ever since the Hyderabad State took shape under British rule, have these defence, foreign affairs and external affairs been dealt with by Hyderabad. Hyderabad had no external affairs at any time of history with any other country, and so, defence etc. Throughout the British period, it was obviously a matter under the British Government of India and so that continues to be.

There are various suggestions being thrown about. For instance, some people are talking about the splitting up of Hyderabad State into linguistic areas, that is if the people of Hyderabad are going to have the freedom to decide on the point of acceding to India or not. That question is a rather theoretical one but I am not aware of any persons in Hyderabad in considerable number who have thought, who wish to do anything but accede to India. It is a purely theoretical but nevertheless if you put that question to me, my answer would be that constituted as Hyderabad is within the heart of India and surrounded all round by Indian territory, it is impossible for the Government of India to accept any position in which Hyderabad can have the external relations, or have independent defence or external policy or communications.

I should like to express my opinion about the other matter which is often referred to by prominent men in the South about splitting of Hyderabad into linguistic areas. Nobody can talk about the future, but I am personally entirely opposed to this business of splitting up Hyderabad into linguistic areas. I am opposed to it from Hyderabad's point of view; I am opposed to it from India's point of view, both. May be that later on we may think of a more rational distribution of provinces and areas in India, but that is rather in the distant future. At the present moment, any attempt to do so will create such a confusion and chaos that it will upset the whole of South India completely. As it is, I have expressed myself on every occasion in regard to this redistribution of provinces. While accepting the principle, I have expressed grave apprehensions at the way we are driving this principle—in such a way as to produce more conflict and trouble than any kind of peaceful solution of the problem. If you throw into this hotch-potch the question of the division of Hyderabad, you will make confusion worse confounded.

6. This Agreement, signed by the Nizam and the Government of India on 29 November 1947, was valid for one year. It gave India control over foreign affairs, defence and communications, while the domestic authority of the Nizam remained intact.

I think it is completely wrong for people to support or to encourage this idea of splitting up Hyderabad, although in logic it may be justified.

Q : It was reported in the press that you had some talks with the Prime Minister of Pakistan about Kashmir.

JN : Yes, I gather that the Prime Minister of Pakistan has stated as much. Yes, we had talks on Kashmir but the talks did not yield any fruitful results.

Q : Were the talks pleasant ?

JN : Yes, quite pleasant. In this connection, one thing comes to my mind and that is this : We have been so excited naturally by the events of the past year or more. With the bitterness of the history of agitation behind us, we are naturally apprehensive and suspicious. We have to be suspicious to some extent in dealing with national problems. Nevertheless, I think from the practical point of view and from other higher points of view that this kind of approach to every problem in an excited and suspicious frame of mind is not a good approach. It is a weak frightened man's approach; it is not the strong, confident man's approach. Why should we get excited when somebody, whether it is some Conservative British statesman or whether it is some South African statesman, is reported to have said something which we do not like. Well, we can criticise him but we should not think that the world is going to stop or tumble over because he has said it, because that is not going to make any difference to the world. We must view these things in their proper perspective and not get excited over them. That applies to Pakistan even more.

Whatever our policy may be with regard to Pakistan—I am not discussing policies—ultimately, whatever the intervening period may be, it is clear that Pakistan and India must cooperate and must come closer to one another. But whatever our policy may, even if it involves conflict on any plane, one should avoid—if I may say so our newspapers should avoid—dealing with it in any way approaching hysteria. This does not apply to all newspapers but some only and mostly the Hindi and Urdu press. Their headlines and their general treatment do approach hysteria which is not a sign of strength. Of course, if you read the Pakistan press, it is something more than hysteria. It is some morbid complex. One does not know how to deal with this disease.

Q : We read in the newspapers that you intended to meet Mr. Bernard Shaw while in England. Did you meet him ?

JN : I am very sorry that I could not meet him. The meeting did not come off because I did not have the time. He wrote a letter to me⁷ which came to India when I was away and did not reach me before my departure from England. It went astray. It is unfortunate as I did want to meet him very much.

7. For Nehru's reply to G.B. Shaw dated 28 October 1948, see *post*, section 12, item 4.

Q : Where does the Commonwealth stand in regard to world peace and war ?

JN : The Commonwealth is something, so far as I know, unknown to history. It has been a very flexible and changing institution. It has been a kind of family gathering of some daughter countries of British origin. Those daughter countries became big and important and naturally wanted to function independently, and they do function independently except for sentimental reasons and certain common interests. Originally, as you all know, the British Empire consisted of two parts, the so-called independent part and the dependent part. India was a dependent part. Now changes go on taking place and some members have gone out—Burma completely. India has that link as a Dominion still but it is an independent country, pursuing its own independent policies, foreign and internal.

What the general outlook of the Commonwealth might be, it is rather difficult to define, but I should say that the Commonwealth as a whole, apart from any desire, must necessarily try to avoid war in its own interests. I am leaving India out of the picture at the moment. No country wants war, but still for some reason or other some countries might be more inclined to war than others. I do not think it is to the interests of any country in the British Commonwealth to have a war-like policy, because it is likely to injure them very greatly; it will injure the whole world in that sense undoubtedly. The Commonwealth works for peace, although it may get entangled in other things, it is a different matter. What is work for peace and what is not is a very difficult matter to deal with briefly in this very complicated texture of the world today. Every country says that it is working for peace and others are war-mongers, but the fact of the matter is that there is such a sense of fear in the biggest countries, and fear induces them to say things, and sometimes to do things, which in effect leads to a warlike atmosphere.

Q : Is it a fact that Burma wanted to be an independent Republic inside the Commonwealth ?

JN : I do not know what it wanted to be in the past. I do not know; possibly.

Q : What is the position of Ireland and South Africa ? Why don't they want to go out of the Commonwealth ?

JN : You do not expect me to discuss other country's politics here. South Africa has pursued its own line for various reasons and is opposed completely to the whole conception of the United Nation's Charter, etc. I think I am not saying anything which is not correct so far as South Africa is concerned, but for various practical reasons, I suppose they do not wish to break away.

As for Ireland it is of great interest to us. I had a fairly long talk with the

Foreign Minister of Eire—Mr. MacBride⁸—and we understood each other pretty well, appreciated each other and there was not very much difference in our general outlook, but local conditions and local politics are given the importance in the context of the country's external affairs there too. The whole matter is under discussion with the United Kingdom Government, but I do not know what the final decision might be, but Mr. MacBride pointed out to me two essential differences between Eire and India. He said that Ireland is a very small country and ours is a very big country. Secondly, Eire is very near Great Britain and we are very far.

Q : There is one point about this Commonwealth which interests people very much and I shall be grateful if you can throw some light on them, that is, whether as the result of these discussions in London, the idea of a Commonwealth that has emerged is that its membership should be on a uniform basis or whether you are thinking of various types of membership ?

JN : That is a good question. All of us were very definitely and clearly of opinion that there should not be various types and grades and circles of membership in the Commonwealth.

Q : May I ask if the London discussions touched on the spread of communism in the South East Asian countries and secondly, in view of the stress you place on the close relations that ought to subsist between India and her neighbouring Asian countries, what should be our attitude to the latest developments in China ?

JN : To begin with the last question, there was no discussion at all about China or relations with China in London. There was considerable talk about conditions in Asia and especially South East Asia and certainly the question of the upheavals in the South East Asia and the part that communism had played in those upheavals. If you want a very brief analysis, I shall give it. Well, communism is certainly there in Asia ; it has long functioned primarily in these countries as anti-imperialism and therefore it was in line with the nationalist movements to a large extent. The nationalist movements were of course anti-imperialist, but were also rather vaguely in favour of social change; also there was a great deal of appreciation and even admiration in these countries in regard to the social changes that had taken place in the Central Asian and other parts of the Soviet Union, the progress made there etc., at any rate what we were informed had happened there.

So there was a general feeling of sympathy for the Soviet Union and for communism lately. The Communist parties as such were not very prominent in any of these Asian countries, barring China. Of course, various changes took place; the War came and with it certain developments took place which rather strengthened the Communist parties in all these Asian countries,

8. Sean MacBride was the Minister of External Affairs, Eire, 1948-51.

but the War also resulted in those struggling nationalisms forming Governments. Then, at first, there was general support of those so-called nationalist Governments from the Communists, although they criticised them too. Then came a very marked change in their approach and it became one of fierce criticism, in fact, of opposition to the extent of trying to uproot them and upset them. In some countries like Burma there was armed revolt. The Burma revolt was not entirely Communist but it was largely under the Communist leadership, but there were other separatist tendencies. In Malaya it was largely Communist and China is Communist. Then there was this Communist revolt in Indonesia. Now it is interesting to see that both in Burma and Indonesia, the nationalist Governments with all their failings were very leftist, almost you might say near Communist. They were very friendly with their institutions, their programmes and very advanced social programmes. Nevertheless, the Communists there rebelled against them. The result was that the previous sense of friendliness that subsisted between the Communist parties and the nationalist movements not only disappeared, but gave rise to bitter hostility in the nationalist movements in those countries to the Communist movement. In other words, the Communist movement rather isolated itself from the nationalist movement which still was the most powerful force there.

Looking at it quite objectively, I should say that the Communists not only overplayed their hand in all those countries, but did injury to their own cause. They could have got what they wanted probably far more easily by the other process of infiltrating this movement which they had pursued till then; but they misjudged their strength and they took premature action which suddenly isolated them from the rest. It was obviously a wrong step to take. When things were happening more or less in their favour, why did they do it? It could only be explained in two ways: either by saying that Communist leadership in those countries was very immature and had no realisation or appreciation of the objective conditions, I am using Communist language, in those countries, or they acted under orders from some other places which ignored those conditions for some reasons of their own; probably it is both and that is one of the marked features of communism in many of those countries. They forgot the fundamental principle of communism or Marxism that it must keep in step with the conditions of the country where it functions. That is Marx's doctrine which Lenin stressed and even so far as saying goes, Stalin has repeated often enough that you cannot repeat the same thing in any country. That is exactly what has been done. Why? Presumably because in furtherance of some world policy; whether it is in furtherance or not, I do not know, it upsets the popular appreciation of events in that particular country.

Communism in all these countries has a certain strength, it varies in various countries. For the moment, it has not only isolated itself, but has

made the nationalist movement, which is strong in these countries its bitter enemy. But whatever might happen in the future, that is a dead loss from the Communist point of view in those countries. In Indonesia where, as you know, the Republic was very advanced, leftist, socialistic, near Communist, whatever it might be, it is very anti-Communist now, because it has to fight for its existence. There is another aspect to this question. Because of the attempt to continue colonial domination in Indonesia, the result was that large numbers of people got frustrated; when they felt that the Republic would give them no chance, they thought let us go to something else, not that they were Communists. One might say that one of the reasons for the Communist upheavals in those countries was the attitude of some colonial powers still trying to function. In Malaya, I think, certainly it may be said that the conditions of the workers there have been pretty bad. Again, there, it is no good saying that they were Communists; under Communist leadership possibly they wanted to exploit the situation to their own advantage. Nevertheless the fact that they got considerable number of others to follow them shows that there was the background of dissatisfaction, frustration or distress amongst the workers.

Q : In regard to the fixing the venue of the next Asian Relations Conference, was any decision reached ?

JN : Originally it was to be held in China, at Hangchow I think. I am afraid it may be difficult to hold it in China now. We discussed this matter. We found that probably the only suitable place was again India.

Q : What about Ceylon ?

JN : Yes, Ceylon may hold it. But it is more difficult to reach Ceylon. Everybody has to come to India and then go to Ceylon.

Q : There have been suggestions made by the B.B.C. and the British press that opinion here is more and more favouring joining the Commonwealth because of the spread of communism in Asia. How far is this correct ?

JN : I do not think that has got anything to do with it.

Q. Is India committed to support the Western Union defence scheme ?

JN : No, we are in no way bound to support the Western Union or any other group of nations or individual nation in any matter.

Q : Has this R.S.S. movement any influence outside India ?

JN : Few people have heard of it. Those who have heard of it merely look upon it as an extreme fascist manifestation in India.

Q. About Palestine ?

JN : It does not do much good to think of what might have happened. I think everybody recognises, almost in every camp it is recognised, that the resolution that was put forward last year in the United Nations on Palestine was as near an ideal solution as could be found. That is the resolution based on the Minority Report of the Palestine Committee to which

India adhered. But, at that time, as so often happens to all ideal resolutions, both the Arabs and the Jews rejected it. Now, many of those who rejected it are sorry for that rejection. Our position in regard to this matter has always been that there should be no attempt to force by military measures any solution on Palestine. But, unfortunately, military measures have been taken and at the present moment, in a military sense, the Jews are stronger and are in possession of a considerable area. So our discussing it in terms of what should be done gets complicated by military issues; it is very difficult to say now. Personally I still think that Palestine which is cut up and a large part of it controlled by the Jews will not be able to flourish for economic reasons unless it has the goodwill of the Arabs.

The Jews may be strong enough to hold on, carry on, but they must have the goodwill of the Arabs, and vice versa, the Arabs cannot exist without the goodwill of the Jews. And I think in spite of those warlike relations there are people both among the Arabs and the Jews who have been forced by circumstances to take a more realistic line and it is possible that with some gentle pressure by the United Nations some way might be found. I might say in this connection that I had the pleasure to meet the acting Mediator.⁹ I was much impressed by him. He is a man of great ability and great integrity and he will certainly do his best.

Q. We often see in the press opinions canvassed that there is developing in the Middle East a bloc. Is there anything like that?

JN: I think there are some people who would like it to develop and I believe there was some tendency at one time in the United Nations for some of those countries to try to function together. But I think that such talk as there has been sometimes about Pan-Islam etc. is completely without real foundation. Some might still want it but in fact there are no conditions which could possibly lead to it. Actually, there may be a feeling of kinship between these nations, some kinds of kinship because of religion etc. but in all those countries the national bond was superior to any other. But the more patent fact is that all these countries realise that without India playing an effective part, their part will not be very effective.

There was the Arab League which is in a sense functioning in two parts. One, purely political function of it; certain Governments coming together in regard to Palestine and such other matters but chiefly Palestine. Then there is the cultural part—certain political outlook too, which includes in its fold all the North African Arab colonies, Morocco, Tunis and Algiers. In some of these countries the liberation movement is going on and to some extent Cairo is the centre of such activities. I met many of those representa-

9. Ralph Johnson Bunche (1904-71); Professor of Political Science, Howard University, 1937-50; Acting U.N. Mediator on Palestine, 1948-49; Professor of Government, Harvard, 1950-52; U.N. special representative in Congo, 1960; Under Secretary General, U.N., 1968-71.

tives there, and, in fact, they gave me long memoranda of each of their liberation movement and wanted India's help so far as we could. My brief reply is that I do not think there is any chance of any so-called religious bloc coming up. Geographical regionalism there is bound to be. Similarly, in regard to Western Asia, it is felt by almost all those countries that close association with India is necessary.

16. International Communications¹

Mr. Chairman,² Mr President³ of the Council of the I.C.A.O. and representatives of Governments and International Organizations⁴, I am here to welcome you most cordially on behalf of the Government of India to this country and to this very ancient city of Delhi. As I sat here in the last few moments, I began thinking of the vast changes that this ancient city must have seen in the course of human history. This city is one of the very few of the oldest cities of the world—not this present city, but this site, where cities have existed from immemorial times. I wondered how many changes it had seen and what its position would be now, in this era not only of air travel but of something more, of man gradually entering into the third dimension and trying to control it and utilize it both for good and for evil. This long stretch of history came before me.

Then, if you will permit me a personal reminiscence, I remember that long, long ago, when I was a boy at school, I was exceedingly interested in the beginnings of aviation at that time and I remember writing an essay on aviation in the year 1906 at school. It was a long time ago. That was just

1. Speech while inaugurating the first South East Asia Regional Air Navigation Conference of the International Civil Aviation Organisation, New Delhi, 23 November 1948. From *Hindusthan Standard*, 24 November 1948.
2. The Conference had elected N.C. Ghosh, Director-General of Civil Aviation in India, as Chairman.
3. Edward Pearson Warner (1894-1958); American aeronautical engineer; Assistant Secretary for aeronautics, U.S. Navy, 1926-29; editor, *Aviation*, 1929-35; President of the Council of I.C.A.O., 1948; author of *Airplane Design—Aerodynamics*, 1927.
4. Over 200 representatives of Governments and International Air Transport Association, International Meteorological Organisation and I.C.A.O. attended this conference for three weeks.

about the time, I think, that the Wright Brothers⁵ and Latham⁶ and Bleriot⁷ and others were crossing the Channel or flying elsewhere. I was greatly excited by their exploits and had dreams of being an aviator or something like that myself at that time.

I remember writing to my father from school, over forty years ago, or perhaps forty two years ago, saying—I was then in England and he was in India that I hoped soon to pay a weekend visit to him by air.⁸ I was a little premature about that, but the fact is, weekend visits have come into being and I do not know how many other people thought at that time in terms of week-end visits from England to India.

Soon after, I was present in Berlin when the first Zeppelin⁹ came there. That was an occasion I very well remember and various exhibitions of aeroplanes and airships in those early days of this century from Frankfurt to Paris, so that, in a sense, my connection with aviation is very old and goes back to my early boyhood, and ever since then I have been intensely interested in the growth of this science and it seemed to me a most exciting thing. My own chief regret is that I pursued other avocations and professions and did not become an aviator, after all that I had hoped and dreamed that I should. Still, I hope it is not too late yet!

I come to you to offer you welcome, and because in spite of my great interest in aviation, I do not know much about the technique or the details of the problems you are going to discuss, it would be folly on my part to talk about them and exhibit my ignorance. But apart from those details, one's imagination is fired by this major development in the history of mankind—this conquest of the air.

I am not sure myself yet whether in the ultimate analysis it is going to be good for mankind or bad. Just as every great invention can be used for good ends or evil ends, science which is the greatest thing in human history, the development of science which has advanced humanity so tremendously,

5. Orville (1871-1948) and Wilbur Wright (1867-1912) were the first to fly in a heavier-than-air machine on 17 December 1903.
6. Hubert Latham (1883-1912); French aviator; on 19 July 1909 he flew in an Antoinette monoplane from Calais for Dover but half way across his engine failed and he landed in the waters of the English Channel.
7. Louis Bleriot (1872-1936); French aviator and inventor; manufactured a monoplane and it was the first to cross the English Channel in a heavier-than-air machine taking off from Calais and landing near Dover on 25 July 1909.
8. Also referred to by Nehru in *An Autobiography*, p. 18.
9. Zeppelin airships were the first rigid bodied aircrafts invented in 1900 by Graf von Ferdinand Zeppelin (1838-1917); in 1906 and 1907 he made several successful flights attaining a speed of 36 m.p.h. and on 1 July 1908, he made a 12 hour flight to Lucerne, Switzerland. In 1909 Jawaharlal along with his father witnessed the overhead circling and the final touch-down by Count Zeppelin after his first long flight in a new aeroplane from Friederichshafen on Lake Constance to Berlin.

has also been used for evil purposes. But that is not the fault of science. That is the fault of the human being who uses it for evil purposes, and that is another question.

Now, I think, possibly if we look at history in the long perspective, the fact of the conquest of the air will stand out as one of the really big events changing human history. I just referred to the third dimension. It is a major event that the human being crawling about on the surface of the earth, more or less in a two-dimensional way, suddenly leaps up to the third dimension. Whether his mind leapt up to it or not, I am not sure; if it had, then all would be well, but somehow events go faster than men's minds and there is such a tremendous lag. We get the wherewithal to do things. We accomplish all manner of great deeds, and yet we do not have the wisdom to know how to do them well. We may have the technical knowledge to do them, but not the wise man's knowledge of how to do them well and properly for the good of mankind. That subject is one for philosophers and not so much for this conference. Nevertheless, it is good to bear that in mind, because technical excellence, important as it is, has to be allied to some other kind of mental quality if it is to be used for proper ends.

Here in India, you will learn that in a short space of time, we have made considerable progress in aviation, as was natural, because this country is, in a sense, ideally suited for that purpose. You have a wide area where air travel becomes almost necessary and essential and you can hardly do without it, once you get used to it, where the climate is suitable for the greater part of the year. You know what the climate is going to be in many parts of the country, and so air travel and air communications are bound to grow.

But I must say that in spite of my great enthusiasm for air travel, I did not expect the rapidity with which air services and air communications have grown in India during the last few years. I believe, few years ago, some kind of plan was made for the development of air communications in India for the next ten years and—I hope I am not wrong—I believe we have already completed that ten-year plan in two or three years, not very deliberately, but simply because there was this urge to grow and it grew and goes on growing. India like some other great countries is an ideal country for this purpose, and it is, if I may say so, right and proper that all of you, ladies and gentlemen, who have come from distant countries, should gather here together, to take counsel together as to what we can do to develop this further, to make air travel swift, efficient, safe and otherwise serve the purpose of humanity in the future.

You represent the South East Asia region. Now, India is curiously situated from the geographical point of view as well as from many other points of view. It belongs to South East Asia, it belongs to South Asia, it also belongs to West Asia. It just depends on which way you look at it, because it happens to be the centre of all these. And whether you think in terms of East Asian

travel or South Asian travel, India is there in the middle of the picture. All international routes or routes round the world have almost inevitably to pass over India.

Again, when you look at it from other points of view like trade and commerce, or when you think of it in terms of defence, India becomes the pivotal centre of South, South-East and West Asia. Geography has given her that position, and because geography gave India that position, and also no doubt because of other factors, the course of history has shown how India has influenced all the countries around her and has been influenced by them.

Do not let anyone imagine that at any period of India's history she has been a country isolated from the rest of the world. She could not be so, situated as she was; and she did not want to be so, except sometime during a period of her history when she was facing some kind of internal trouble or difficulty. Until 150 years ago, India's contacts were very largely and inevitably with her overland neighbours, and also by sea, because from the most ancient times India was a sea power and a commercial nation. In the days of ancient Greece and Rome, we had intimate trade contacts with Rome and Greece and, of course, Egypt. Our great ports on the west coast were full of people going and coming from home, carrying goods from India and bringing goods to India from the other side.

But even more intimate was the contact of India with South East Asia, it was a very intimate contact, cultural and to some extent religious, and it is a contact which has endured for thousands of years. And if you go to any part of South East Asia, you will find evidence of that contact—linguistic, cultural, monumental, archeological, architectural. So India had these contacts by sea, but in addition to that, and perhaps to some extent more important than that, were her land contacts in Asia. But during the last 150 years her contact with the world has been more or less through the great sea routes. Changes took place all over the world, and changes took place in India also, which were mainly political.

The British came to India and gradually acquired domination over this country. As a result of that, partly consciously and deliberately and partly unconsciously, the contacts of India with her neighbouring nations in Asia became less and less. Our land routes languished and in fact they became almost closed except for occasional caravans or ordinary individual travellers. Our old sea trade had languished previously, and instead of all this there came into existence direct contacts by a new sea route and by new means of sea communications due to the development of steam.

The route to Europe, and more especially to England, was opened and so India became more closely connected with England and Western Europe than with her neighbours in Asia who gradually became more distant and alien to her and in a sense more difficult of access to her. It is a great change

that occurred and affected India very greatly. This went on for a hundred years and more and now there has been a change again.

There was the development of aircraft and from sea travel there has been a shift to air travel in the last generation or so. Great international air liners came across the Western Asian deserts, from Baghdad and Teheran and other places and went on across India to South East Asia. It became relatively easy to go from India to China—almost a day's hop. So that these ancient contacts that had been broken in the last 150 years were revived. This development of communications has a powerful effect on India as no doubt it has had on other countries. It has had a great effect on reviving our old contacts and no doubt the effect of air travel has been to bring the countries of the world very close to one another.

Being given, to a certain extent, to looking at history in a wide perspective and somewhat imaginatively, I find my imagination fired by all these changes and, what is more, the changes that are likely to come in the future. And so any attempt to coordinate the activities of Asia and the world in regard to civil aviation or communications seems to me an essential thing for the modern world to do.

And you, the representatives of groups of international organizations, are, if I may say so, not only sitting here and discussing in a rather pedestrian way the technique of this business, but in a sense you are all children of the future that is taking shape. And out of your endeavours and the endeavours of the likes of you all over the world, great development will take place which I hope will be for the good of mankind.

17. To B. Pattabhi Sitaramayya¹

New Delhi
December 2, 1948

My dear Pattabhi,

I enclose a note on Foreign Policy.² It has been hastily dictated and is only meant to give you some idea of the subject and the possible approach to it. It covers a little more ground than perhaps you had intended. You can cut it down and vary it.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. J.N. Collection.

2. See the next item.

18. Note on Foreign Policy¹

During its long history of struggle for the attainment of India's freedom, the National Congress was naturally absorbed in this struggle and could not pay much attention to foreign affairs. Nevertheless as far back as the early twenties we find the Congress passing resolutions about foreign policy. In spite of our absorption in our national struggle we always viewed it as a part of the struggle of all oppressed and colonial people. Because of this we sympathised with all other peoples in the world who might be suffering from exploitation or the domination of a foreign power. We were anti-Imperialist not only in India but in the rest of the world also. Inevitably we became anti-Fascist. Whether it was in China or Spain or Abyssinia or Czechoslovakia, the National Congress raised its voice against Imperialist and Fascist forces and governments.

2. Inevitably, as a non-official organisation, the Congress could only lay down general policies and was not concerned with any specific problem. It was concerned directly with Indians overseas. It was also concerned both directly and indirectly with the problem of racial equality.

3. Now that India is an independent country, the Government has to face world problems not only on the basis of principle but also on the far more difficult plane of application of a principle in a complicated situation. Normally India does not wish to interfere with other countries, just as India would resent the interference of any other country in its own affairs. But the world today, in spite of friction and conflict, is an interrelated organism and it is impossible for any country to remain in isolation.

4. Independence brings rights and privileges; it also brings responsibilities and duties which always accompany rights and privileges. It is an inevitable consequence of independence that we should develop foreign relations, have representatives in foreign countries, and take part in foreign affairs. In any event this would be so, but in view of the fact that large numbers of Indians live abroad, it becomes our duty to take interest in them. Also our trade requires foreign contacts and foreign relations. We have today unfortunately even to buy foodstuffs from abroad; we have to buy many other things such as capital goods and machinery for the development of our country. But above all we have to participate in this growing structure of a World Order. Not to do all this would mean that we relied on others

1. New Delhi, 2 December 1948. J.N. Collection. This was used in its entirety by Pattabhi Sitaramayya in his presidential address to the Jaipur Congress on 18 December 1948.

to do it on our behalf which again means dependence on others and not independence.

5. India, therefore, as an independent country has naturally developed these foreign relations, sent her representatives abroad to many countries, and taken a full part in international conferences and more especially the United Nations Organisation which is gradually and painfully staggering along towards that conception of World Order and cooperation which is embodied in the fine language of its Charter. Some of these international conferences, more especially those dealing with Asia, are finding their way to Indian soil because inevitably India is becoming the focal point of many activities in Asia.

6. What should our foreign policy be ? Broadly speaking the old principles which we have laid down so many times should govern our present policy also. That is to work for the ending of all Imperialisms and the domination of one country by another, the ending of racial discrimination and the establishment of racial equality, and world peace and cooperation aimed at ultimately the development of a World Order or One World. These are general policies but in their application many difficulties arise specially in the world today which is suffering from an excess of fear and suspicion and so soon after the last great war, is again thinking of yet another and a vaster and more terrible war. Groups of powers face each other in their embattled might and try hard to develop their warlike resources.

7. In this hard world of war and strife India cannot be a weak and helpless spectator. She has to guard her freedom but she will guard it badly if she forgets the essential principles for which she has stood under the guidance of the Father of the Nation.

8. India's policy has been laid down as one of avoidance of attachment to any bloc of powers which is antagonistic to another bloc. This is a difficult position to maintain and sometimes it brings odium from all the contending parties. Yet, not only on the ground of high principle, but also from the point of view of practical necessity and the good of India as well as of the world, it is the only policy that India can adopt. India must therefore ceaselessly strive to develop friendly relations with not only her neighbour countries but also with the countries of the world and exercise such weight and influence as she possesses to lessen international rivalries and prevent the drift to war. In the recent sessions of the United Nations, held in Paris, India has played no mean part in following this policy and has shown to the world that she can be friendly and cooperative with other nations without becoming a hanger on of this or that bloc. If India left this policy, then indeed there would be little hope, for only warring factions will remain.

9. India is more specially interested in what is happening in Asia. I should like specially to refer to the grave crisis in Indonesia where a brave and gallant people fighting for their freedom have been harassed and threatened continuously by an imperialist power. I should like to send my greetings to

the Government and people of the Republic of Indonesia and to assure them that our entire sympathy is with them. We are convinced that whatever the immediate future may hold, there can be no doubt that ultimately the free Republic of Indonesia will triumph. Indeed I might say that the process of eliminating imperialism from Asia cannot be stopped and must go on. Every foreign power that holds dominion in any part of Asia must depart.

10. Africa is in a somewhat difficult position, but the same principle holds good there although it may take somewhat longer to apply to. To the people of Africa I should also like to extend our warm sympathy and I want to make it clear that we do not want any Indian vested interest to grow or to exploit the African people. We want Indians in Africa to cooperate with the people there for the advancement of those people. We stand for no domination over any other country and no exploitation of any other people by our people.

11. The question has arisen as to India's future relationship with the Commonwealth which used to be called the British Commonwealth of Nations. It is clear that India is going to be a free, sovereign, independent Republic in no way subservient to or dependent on foreign authority. That Republic will draw its power and authority from the people of this country. Those people will owe no allegiance to any foreign country or authority. That is clear enough. At present we are passing through a transitional stage of Dominionhood. Dominion Status has certainly meant in practice independence in domestic and external policy. Nevertheless the concept of the Dominion cannot be fitted in with that of a Republic. Therefore Dominion Status must go. The question then arises as to whether it is possible and desirable for the free Indian Republic to have some relationship with the United Kingdom and other countries associated with her. This relationship cannot be that of a Dominion. It can only be the association of free and independent countries agreeing to have certain reciprocal relations which do not limit in any way their freedom in regard to domestic or international policy.

12. It is within these limiting factors that the question has to be considered. I have said above that India cannot remain in isolation from the rest of the world. It is to the advantage of India, as it will be to the advantage of other countries, to have closer contacts and associations. This may help us in many ways and this may also help the cause of world peace. But whatever associations may be built up, they must in no way derogate from the complete independence of India and the freedom of the policy that she pursues. India is too big and important a country to be swept away any more by the gust of wind from foreign shores. We stand firmly on our soil, receptive to all the good that can come to us, cooperative with others but not allowing ourselves to be pushed about in any direction against our will.

13. The old world in which we have lived so long is rapidly changing before our eyes. India is changing. We cannot therefore think in terms of

the past, even of the immediate past, for if we do so we shall forget the present and we shall not be prepared for the future. Therefore all questions have to be considered in the light of this new world that is growing up and changing conditions that we are in. In these conditions we should seek co-operation wherever we can have it, while maintaining our freedom and dignity. There are enough forces in the world today breaking up and destroying. We should stand on the side of the builders not on the destroyers.

19. Documentary Films for External Publicity¹

I do not know much about the writer of the attached letter. Perhaps I know him, but for the moment I cannot place him.

2. Anyway, he makes a suggestion which is good. I think that for foreign publicity it is very desirable that documentary films should be prepared of our famous architectural monuments, temples, beauty spots, dancing etc. They should be short documentary films dealing with particular specific subjects, for instance, one famous temple may be dealt with by just one short film in all its aspects with a bit of history in them. Agra with its lovely buildings—the Taj,² Etmad-ud-Daula,³ Fatehpur Sikri,⁴ the Fort⁵—might form the subject matter of one film and so on.

3. Apart from sending these to our Consuls-General etc., I am quite sure that these would be welcomed abroad for public exhibition and they would more than pave their way. There would be no political element in them and they will carry India's message further than a direct propaganda film. If our Indian film producers were intelligent, they would have done this themselves, but they are not too intelligent.

4. In fact our tremendous Cinema industry can easily capture a foreign market through this method. The normal Indian film has no appeal at all abroad.

5. In any event, I think that our Publicity Ministry should consider this matter and take some steps to this end.

6. Will you please draw their attention to this?

1. Note for Principal Private Secretary, 8 December 1948. File No. 43(52)/48-PMS.
2. Situated on a bend on the south bank of Yamuna, Taj Mahal was built in 1630-48 by Shah Jehan, in memory of his beloved wife Arjumand Banu Begum, called Mumtaj-i-Mahal.
3. Situated on the east bank of Yamuna, is the elegant tomb of Etmad-ud-Daula built by his daughter Nur Jehan during 1628-30.
4. Fatehpur Sikri situated 38 km. south west of Agra, was capital of the Mughal Empire from 1571 to 1586. The monuments built by Akbar include Jodh Bai's palace, Salim Chishti's *dargah*, Buland Darwaza, Birbal's House, Panch Mahal and Hiran Minar.
5. The Red Fort of Agra was built in 1564-75 by the Emperor Akbar.

20. The Asian Situation¹

In view of developments in China, Indonesia and South East Asia generally, I think it would be a good thing that we communicated our views to the U.K. and the U.S.A. Governments specially, and to other governments also.

In China nothing can be done by us except to watch and adjust ourselves to changing conditions.² We have decided to keep our Ambassador in Nanking, even if the National Government collapses or goes away. I am quite sure this must be done and further that our Ambassador should behave in a cooperative way to any new government that might be formed. That is to say we will not officially recognise it till we think we should do so. But even without recognition, our Ambassador might keep up informal contacts. That would be good from the point of view of keeping us in touch with this Government and our getting information about developments, and laying the foundation of some kind of friendship with the new government in China. We shall naturally have to proceed cautiously and watch what other powers do. We need not necessarily fall in step with other powers. But we should also not break with them on this issue.

The new China is obviously going to play an important part in South East Asia and to some extent in the world. So far as I can see, the U.K. Government will not break with it and will maintain a distantly cooperative attitude. Even from a narrow opportunist point of view we cannot afford to be hostile in any way to the new China.

We have repeatedly addressed the U.K. and U.S.A. Governments in regard to Indonesia. I believe we have produced some result, but in the final analysis we do not seem to have made much impression. The Indonesian question is important enough as it is, but it is even more important from the point of view of Asia as a whole. I have no doubt that if the Dutch Government proceeds to take military measures against the Indonesian Republic, this will mean letting loose new and powerful forces which ultimately will not only overwhelm the Dutch in Indonesia, but may also spread out elsewhere.

An indication of our general attitude will contain nothing new, but it is always worthwhile repeating the right thing, whether it produces immediate results or not.

1. Note to the Foreign Secretary, 14 December 1948. File No. 136(TS) FEA/48, M.E.A., N.A.I.

2. See *post*, section 11, sub-section VIII, item 13.

I suggest that you might send a telegram on the following lines to our High Commissioner in London and to our Ambassador in Washington. Copies of this message might be given by you to various other embassies and High Comissioner's offices :

"Recent events in China, Indonesia, and South East Asia generally, indicate that we are on the eve of grave and far-reaching developments. Some of these developments are at least partly due to the policy adopted in these areas by some Western Governments. After the Second World War it was patent that the old colonial policies cannot possibly last. We took this for granted and we referred repeatedly in the United Nations to the desirability of putting an end to every form of colonialism. Nevertheless colonial policies of the Dutch Government in Indonesia and of the French Government in Indo-China have resulted in a progressively deteriorating situation. It seems to us clear that the Dutch and French Governments could not have taken offensive action but for the consent and sometimes even approval of some major powers.

The situation in Indonesia is exceedingly critical. But what is chiefly disturbing is the fact of colonialism continuing and even trying to extend itself. There is no doubt whatever that this will be met with fierce resistance and that ultimately there will be no place in Indonesia for a single Dutchman.

The whole of South East Asia has been involved in violent revolts. A revolt may be put down by superior force, but this does not solve any problem.

It has become necessary now to realise the only policy that can be pursued in any of these countries of South East Asia is to accept frankly national freedom in a colonial territory. Every foreign power must accept this principle and give effect to it immediately. Delay or controversy in doing so would simply mean a setback to the national governments and a growth of irresponsible communism.

We recognise that the U.S.A. and the U.K. Governments have strongly advised the Dutch not to take military action, but the Dutch have not been very cooperative in this respect. In any event this rather negative attitude does not carry one very far. The real thing to be done is to take a brave step and put an end to any and every type of alien domination. The consequences of not doing so, and of Indonesia becoming a place where some kind of revolt and guerilla warfare is a continuing phenomenon, are going to be grave indeed and to some extent the responsibility for them will rest on the Great Powers. We trust that this aspect of the situation has been considered fully by the Great Powers as well as by others. If so, then they must do their utmost to prevent any such disaster happening. We cannot go very far if we consider various secondary matters and try to patch up some kind of an unsatisfactory arrangement in regard to these secondary matters. We would earnestly beg of your Government therefore to tackle the problem at its root and to make sure that national freedom is recognised in

these countries and no trace of colonial domination continues. The most potent cause for the growth of communism is the denial of this national freedom."

The message given above has been hastily dictated. But it will give some idea of the kind of message that, I think, should be sent to the U.K. and the U.S.A. and some other countries, especially the countries of the Commonwealth. The message might be redrafted with care and then shown to me.

21. A Practical Approach to Foreign Policy¹

In the past eighteen or twenty years, whenever resolutions on foreign policy were drafted, I have had some hand in them. And in the past two years, the entire foreign policy of the Government of India has been in my hands. Obviously, considerable importance and authority are attached to my speeches. Our foreign policy has been designed bearing in mind the world picture and Indian situation. The resolution before the committee has my full agreement; it has been drafted after prolonged and due deliberations. I do not feel it is inconsistent with India's proclamation of becoming an independent republic.

However, in this world of today, no country could remain isolated. Whatever India might call herself, Sovereign Republic or anything else, in the present age, no country could live in isolation. Some sort of alliance with other nations for mutual progress and world peace was inevitable. There was no country which was really independent. If that term means non-dependence on any other country, the only exception possibly are America and Russia. Other countries of the world are joined together and are inter-dependent. Therefore no country could be called independent in the manner in which the critics of the resolution have taken the word to mean. There is no country either in Asia or in Europe which has not aligned with other countries militarily or otherwise, for their own welfare and the peace of the world. It is a strange proposition that on the one hand no complete isolation is practicable and on the other there should be no alliance or

1. Nehru's reply to the debate on the Congress Working Committee's resolution on India's foreign policy at the Subjects Committee meeting at the Jaipur Congress, 16 December 1948. Based on reports from *The Hindustan Times*, 17 December and *The Hindu*, 17 and 18 December 1948.

friendship with the others. There are a number of independent republics in South America but what weight would their independence have if they remained in isolation from other countries ? India's foreign policy should be practical and the resolution should be compatible with what we want to do. There are two points in our resolution here. One relating to the foreign policy and other to the relationship with the British Commonwealth of Nations. The resolution embodies the policy which the Congress would like the country to pursue on these two points.

It is no use talking about nonviolence in the present world context. You cannot teach nonviolence to the world. Even we have had to shed blood a few months ago. It may have been due to the wrongs of Pakistan and we may have been fully justified in the action but still the fact remains that blood was shed. In the circumstances how can we preach to the world about the ethics of nonviolence ?

References have been made to India showing the path to the world—the path laid down by the Father of the Nation, Mahatma Gandhi. But that requires the maximum amount of moral strength. Can we claim to possess it ? Can you suggest the way of nonviolence and recommend it to the world ? We blame Pakistan for committing many a crime. But should we not have a mirror and see the reflection of our own faces ? Can we claim to have remained nonviolent all these days ? The picture of India abroad is nothing but a picture of blood. If we had acted upon the advice of Mahatma Gandhi things would have taken a different turn.

We could have influenced the world to a great extent by this time. I know ultimately India will be able to do so. But till that time we shall have to take a practical view of things as they exist today. We cannot draft a resolution which may look strange to the world because of its impracticability. The present resolution has been drawn by us as an independent people and no one from outside has interfered with or influenced its drafting, except perhaps the world events. Do you think that we will be less independent as an Indian Republic joined in the Commonwealth than we are today as a dominion ? Even though India has been and is at present in the British Commonwealth, no one has interfered in our foreign policy in the past two years.

Even though India has been free for the past two years, there are still some people who have not ceased to think as slaves. What the movers of the amendments have said has revealed their fears and lack of self-confidence. Citizens of a free country, having confidence in the country and its people, should not suffer from such a complex. They must not act in the way they have done.

The entire face of the country has changed. We are no more slaves. We should think and act as an independent people. We should get rid of

this slavish mentality. You are already free. I am already free and independent. There is no doubt about it. To entertain any doubts shows lack of self-confidence. I have never lost my self-confidence or my faith in the nation. I am not concerned what is happening today. Despite the thousands of difficulties and problems, I also look to the future—far ahead of today and think of what may happen. The nation should look ahead and not turn back. Narrowmindedness will only make you loose confidence in yourself. I have no fear from outside. I am not afraid of anything. But the real weakness lies in ourselves. It is not the weakness of those who do not belong to the Congress I am afraid of. I am afraid of the weakness of the Congressmen themselves. I have great faith in India. She is a great country and is inhabited by a great people. If we have that confidence nothing on earth can deter our progress.

India is destined to be a glorious country. The history and geography of India guarantee a great future and the pace of this prosperity is bound to be rapid. We are placed in such a position that we are destined to be the nerve-centre of Asia. Every factor is in favour of India.

But for this prosperity all pettiness must be fought; narrowness must disappear and fight between provinces and districts must be put an end to. If we play our role properly, I envisage in the near future the formation of a federation of Asian countries with India as its nerve-centre. In this federation all the nations will be free and there will be no exploitation of one country by another. In the formation of this federation of free nations, India has great contribution to make. I have great confidence in my people and faith in the future of our country. That is why I have no hesitation in having relations with other countries. I do not suffer from any fear complex.

Regarding our relations with the Commonwealth, it will necessarily have to be changed once we become a Republic. But to say that we should not be part of the Commonwealth is to close our portals against wider contacts. If you think that I feel weak and am taking shelter behind the Commonwealth you are making a mistake. I advocate this policy because I feel that by keeping good relations with the Commonwealth countries. I can serve the cause of peace and promote the welfare of all. The relationship proposed is one of consultations for mutual benefit and will not tie us down in any way.

Some sort of relation will surely exist. What form it will take can be considered later. We shall be having relations with the Commonwealth. Our political relation with the U.K. has ceased—but some sort of relation will be there whether we remain in the Commonwealth or not is a different question to be decided by the Constituent Assembly. But this much is certain: we must not make any country hostile to us. We shall be friendly to all and keep our doors open. We shall have some sort of relation, though it may not be military or economic alliance. We shall not bind ourselves to any

power. We shall not do anything that goes against India. We shall not enter into military alliances with any power. We shall remain aloof from war in case it breaks out. But today we cannot dispense with our army because Mahatma Gandhi stood for nonviolence.

The present resolution is in full accordance with the policy of the Indian National Congress so long pursued. It is no deviation from it. Our objective will be fully achieved when India becomes a Republic. The resolution declared our adherence to the principles underlying the Charter of the United Nations. India has always believed in the ideal behind the United Nations. Nobody says that the present set up of the United Nations Organisation is good or bad. A Union of Nations is a necessity, and if the present organisation is broken another has to be formed to take its place. The reference in the resolution to the United Nations Charter is therefore unexceptional.

The inter-relations among nations was only a matter of degree and no one country could completely break away suddenly its relationship with the others with whom it had a long association. Any break in relationship must inevitably leave its impress. I agree that there is force in the suggestion that India should not be a member of Commonwealth if countries like South Africa are there as equal members, but the resolution before the Committee did not and could not give an irrevocable picture of the future. The situation changed from time to time and the changes are taking place all over the world.

Britain has shed her imperialism. Even though she had colonies where she was practising colonialism. Britain, today, is not an imperialist country and cannot be so. Despite great difficulties and odds, Britain had overcome them only because of the discipline and the national character. If India had emulated the British example, she could have made much greater progress than she has been able to do till now.

Even when India was a dominion, our foreign policy had been independent. The Indian delegates to the U.N. had followed an independent path. How can anyone imagine that we will not be acting, or anyone can prevent us from acting, as a completely independent country in so far as our foreign policy is concerned after we become a republic ? We have never changed our attitude towards the question of Indonesia in spite of some countries in British Commonwealth taking a different viewpoint. I do not understand how our foreign policy is going to be less independent. If you want that we should be completely isolated from others, I must warn you that our progress will suffer. I am also against tying ourselves up with other countries. Any such bonds in the present world context with divided blocs would mean disaster to us.

The responsibility for the foreign policy of India in the past two years has been mine and Indian Ambassadors, Ministers and representatives abroad

are acting in accordance with the policy for which I am ultimately responsible. The criticism against the Indian Ambassadors was baseless. I can vouchsafe that India's foreign service is improving daily. The members of the foreign service have been doing good work wherever they are stationed, and their work in the United Nations has been greatly appreciated by many nations of the world.

22. To Stafford Cripps¹

Jaipur

December 17/18, 1948

My dear Stafford,

I have received your letter of the 10th December today² and almost immediately I sent a brief reply. I am now writing to you more fully in answer to what you have said. Most of us here have also been greatly disturbed at the developments in China, Burma, Malaya and elsewhere. Communist subversive propaganda has been in evidence in India too during this year and has given us some trouble. That trouble has not been so great as it might have been because our Government's position was stronger and we had to a large extent the ear of the masses. So far as the Communists were concerned, their policy for India was exactly the same as for Burma and elsewhere. It was not for any lack of trying that they did not succeed here.

Why did they succeed elsewhere? Surely it is up to us to try to understand the real causes behind the powerful movements going on in South East Asia. In China one could almost see a year or two ago what was likely to happen. Gradually the Kuomintang Government has lost nearly all the support that it had and most people, that is most non-Communists even, have come to the conclusion that almost anything is better than the continuation of the Kuomintang rule. Armies walk across to the Communists. The Communist areas, poor as they are, are better administered and there is far less of graft and corruption there. Able men are at the top there and

1. V.K. Krishna Menon Papers, N.M.M.L.

2. In his letter Cripps had expressed anxiety at the advance in Communist and Soviet activity in Asia which had disrupted "internal peace" in "democratic countries". In view of this, he wanted the Kashmir question to be resolved speedily "so as to remove as far as possible the opportunity for stirring up of trouble" by the Communists.

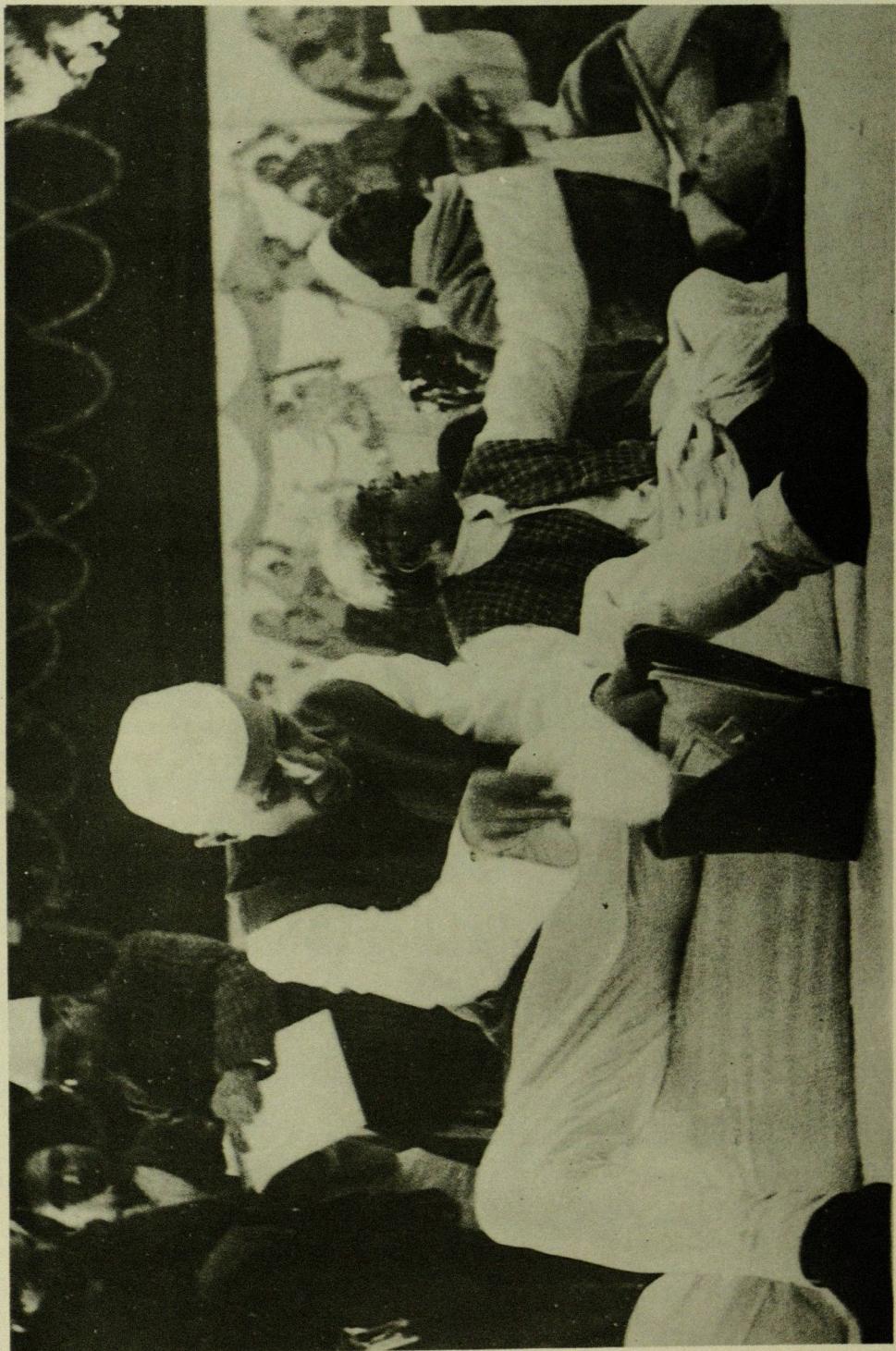
they have with some success adapted the Communist theory to Chinese circumstances. The only possible way to counter this was for the National Government to go ahead itself with political, administrative and economic reform. Instead of this they carried on in the old way, in fact in a worse way, because progressively they lost the support of the middle elements. They relied completely on American help. That help, in money and materials, undoubtedly goes some distance. But it is, as events have shown, completely inadequate to meet the kind of situation that arose in China. In fact that help largely and through devious routes managed to reach the Communists.

We see thus in China a complete mishandling of the situation by the Kuomintang and an almost equally complete lack of understanding on the part of the U.S.A. Money and equipment are no doubt important, but psychology of human masses is more important.

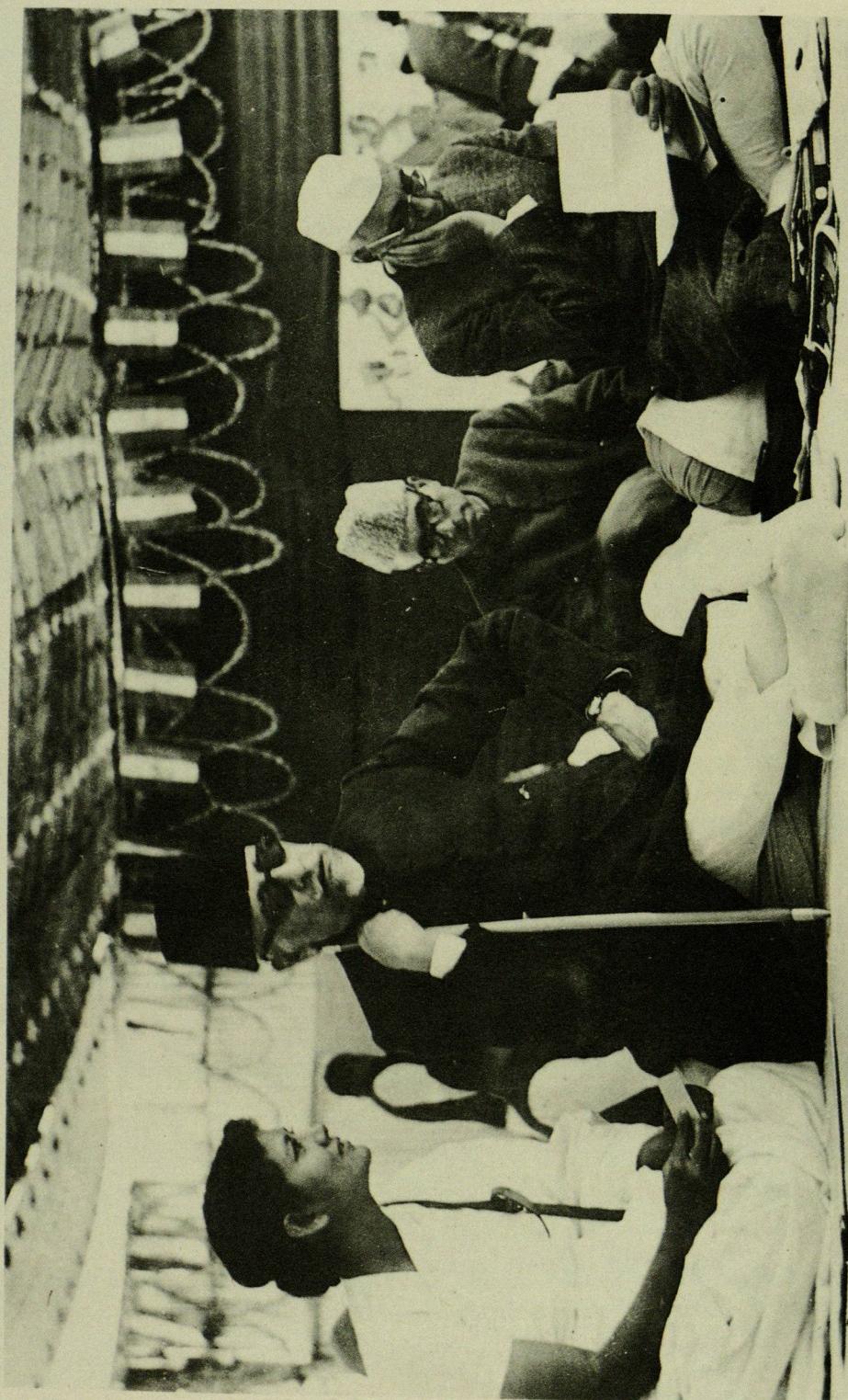
In Malaya the situation has been very bad for a long time. The Communists, Chinese nearly all of them, have misbehaved terribly. Yet, it is obvious that a movement of this kind could not have lasted long if it had only the Communists behind it. There has been serious labour discontent and a long standing demand for improvement in labour conditions. There is widespread dissatisfaction on the political plane at the pace or extent of reforms. Hence the Communists function with a great deal of sympathy of others. Indians have kept apart as a whole from these activities, although Indian workers in Malaya are treated worse than the Chinese. It is well-known that the planters in Malaya are a bad lot of employers and Indians have had special experience of this. Our information is that Indians have been arrested simply for trade union activities and for making minor demands for improvement in their lot. There is a general impression in Malaya that the planters' word prevails. That is hardly a proper approach to the problem. It is extraordinary, even allowing for the difficult terrain, for a petty rebellion to continue for months and months, almost a year. There is no expectation of this being put down completely for many months to come.

In Burma, our information is that some Englishmen have encouraged in every way the separatist Karen Movement and supplied them with arms.

In Indonesia, they have reached boiling point and anything may happen. Long arguments take place about the terms offered by the Dutch or by the Indonesian Republic. The fundamental fact is overlooked that the Dutch have no business to be there at all. And it is sheer impertinence on their part to offer the kind of terms they have been doing. They have refused to accept the proposals made by the U.N. Good Offices Committee. They have proved themselves completely lacking in any understanding of the situation. Whatever the near future may bring forth, I have not the least doubt that there will be no room for a single Dutchman in the Indonesia of the future. By their policy the Dutch have made themselves terribly hated



AT THE CONGRESS SESSION, JAIPUR, DECEMBER 1948



WITH A.K. AZAD AND SHEIKH ABDULLAH, CONGRESS SESSION, JAIPUR, DECEMBER

all over Indonesia, and no military success will establish their rule there for long.

Why do the Dutch behave in this way ? Because they are excessively stupid and lacking in understanding. But that is not enough. They could never act in the way they have done unless they had the active or the passive support of the U.S.A. and the U.K. Indeed the Dutch are being helped by the U.S.A. under the Marshall Aid Plan. This help no doubt flows into Indonesia. It is a curious way of rehabilitating the Western Union by supporting Dutch colonial rule in Indonesia. We are asked repeatedly in India to bring pressure on the Indonesian Government to come to terms with the Dutch. The Indonesian Republic has gone much farther in this direction than I would have advised it, and even now this demand continues to be made on the Indonesians. The Dutch have broken off the negotiations. They want, in effect, a complete surrender and an ending of the Republic.

I should like you to appreciate what all this is leading to in South East Asia. In Indo-China also Marshall Aid money is indirectly supporting French colonial aggression. The French are going on in this foolish pursuit although there is not the least chance in the world of their succeeding in crushing the Vietnam. Indeed they hardly occupy any territory there except some cities and even these cities are closely infested. They will never win there. Meanwhile they are doing everything to make themselves hated. Indirectly the Western Union comes to be hated.

Perhaps the U.S.A., and it may be the U.K. also, think that the policy they have been pursuing is likely to check the spread of communism in South East Asia. If so, they think wrongly. This policy is having a reverse effect and the Communists are profiting by it. They have much keener appreciation of local conditions than others have. They made a mistake in Burma and Indonesia by attacking the National Governments. But they will outlive their mistakes because other powers opposed to them are continually making bigger mistakes.

Unless the U.S.A. and U.K. come to the decision that colonialism in South East Asia must end, their prestige will go down, and in a moment of real crisis in South East Asia they will have few friends. The Dutch and the French will not be able to do much.

I have mentioned all this because it is very relevant in considering the question of the spread of communism in South East Asia. Kashmir is important of course, and there is always a possibility of a big flare-up in India and Pakistan, though I think the chances are less now than they used to be. But Kashmir has nothing to do with this Communist expansion. From the point of view of checking communism, one has to look at these various countries of South East Asia and align oneself with the progressive nationalist elements.

I have considered carefully what you have written about Kashmir.⁴ You should know that we are very eager to put an end to this fighting in Kashmir. We have fought not only because of the strategic importance of Kashmir to us and because it is very dear to us and most intimately connected with India's culture and history, but also because the fight in Kashmir is not merely for a patch of territory. It has far deeper causes. In Kashmir we, or rather many of the Muslims there under Abdullah's leadership, have challenged Jinnah's two-nation theory. This has become a matter of the utmost importance to us for Kashmir's accession to India helps us greatly to deal with the minority problem in India. If Kashmir went, the position of the Muslims in India would become more difficult. In fact, there would be a tendency of people to accept a purely communal Hindu viewpoint. That would mean an upheaval of the greatest magnitude in India. Also I am quite convinced that it would be complete ruin of Kashmir if it went over to Pakistan. A barbarous lot of people would overwhelm some of the most cultured and intellectual people of India. But the real question to consider is how far the settlement in Kashmir would affect the rest of India. A proper settlement of course would always be beneficial. But what is suggested by the Security Council would mean something entirely different.

As a matter of fact, we are meeting some members of the U.N. Kashmir Commission soon. We may or may not agree finally to the new proposals they have made. But even if we agree the major problem remains.

I do not think a meeting with the Governors-General would do any good at all at this stage.

We have repeatedly drawn your attention to the attitude of the British representative in the United Nations in regard to Kashmir and also Hyderabad. Why he has been so consistently hostile, I do not know. But this will have the most unfortunate consequences in India.

Pakistan armies invade Kashmir. We complain about the aggression. It is denied. When later this aggression is found to be true and is in fact admitted, every attempt is made to lessen its significance, as if it was quite natural for Pakistan armies to march into Indian territory. We agreed later to the resolution of the U.N. Kashmir Commission. Pakistan does not agree. Nothing happens. We suggest then rectification of the frontiers. Pakistan does not agree. Now the Kashmir Commission puts forward some new proposals and no doubt we will be pressed to agree to this. It seems to be our function to go on agreeing and Pakistan's to go on refusing and rejecting, although we happen to be the victims of Pakistan's aggression. I just do not understand this. A problem can be tackled from the point of view of equity

4. To avoid escalating trouble over Kashmir, Cripps had made two suggestions—(1) that U.N.C.I.P. hold a final joint meeting with India and Pakistan to enable the Security Council to have an upto date information on the situation (2) to arrange a meeting between the two Governors-General to reduce the tension between the countries.

or practical convenience or preferably both. I find that in regard to Kashmir neither of these aspects has been fully considered, with the result that more and more confusion and difficulty arises.

We have had during the last few days a major operation against us by the Pakistan Army with their heavy artillery, their big anti-aircraft guns and their tanks functioning. This was done when we were supposed to be cognizant and waiting for the Kashmir Commission. An important bridge has been destroyed, thus affecting our line of communication. This was an operation long-planned and for months past Pakistan armies were building up for it. Pakistan Headquarters means a British Commander-in-Chief and staff officers. This was thus almost entirely the work of the British high-ranking officers. We have to meet not only the aggression of Pakistan's armed forces, but also the active encouragement and help to them of British officers and mediators, I am sure you will realise what effect this has on Indian opinion.

I am afraid I have been totally unable to understand British policy in this as in some other matters. If we have been in error, we shall gladly suffer the consequences of that error. I have no doubt that we have made many mistakes. But in regard to Kashmir I am dead certain that we have made no major mistakes except to hold our hands repeatedly in the face of provocation. We are continually being asked not to do this or that as if we are the aggressors or the guilty party. Meanwhile a set of barbarians are let loose on parts of Kashmir territory, bringing up havoc in their train.

As I have written to you in my short note, I have received a message through the U.K. High Commissioner in Delhi conveying Attlee's reply to our proposals regarding India's association with the Commonwealth. In that reply we are informed that Attlee has consulted the Canadian, Australian and New Zealand representatives and they all regret to say that our proposals do not go far enough. These proposals were based on our talks in London and largely on the draft that you produced. On this basis I have been trying to do my utmost, since my return from England, to cultivate public opinion. I have met several kinds of opinion and I have gone dead against the prevailing current of opinion in India. Yet I have persisted because I thought this was the right course. Only two days ago we brought forward a Resolution for the Congress here and managed to get it through.⁵ It was a matter of coincidence that immediately after this debate in the Subjects Committee⁶ of the Congress I received Attlee's message. Nevertheless we proceeded with that Resolution and the Congress has adopted it giving us a free hand within certain limiting factors, to work out this association with the Commonwealth. We have done that, but I do not see what step I

5. See the next item.

6. See *ante*, item 21.

can take now, because I cannot go beyond what we agreed to in London. I have been left high and dry.

I do not quite know what the position is about this matter except that, for the moment, I feel that the barriers that have been raised cannot easily be surmounted. I should like to have your opinion about it. It is clear that we should not leave matters in this vague condition for long.

Are we to go with the Nationality clause giving common Commonwealth Nationality ? If so, what will be its effect ? Does it mean something more than what the Irish have done ? We aimed at something more, but whether that is possible now or not is for the U.K. Government to say. We have expressed our willingness to go ahead.

When I was in London, we pointed out to some of your people there that there was considerable delay in our obtaining certain defence supplies that we had asked for previously. We were told that there would be no further delay. But I find that nothing is coming. I think this matter should be cleared up soon. We are at least entitled to know what the position is and if there is any objection to our getting them from the U.K., we should be told of it, so that we might know exactly where we stand. This vague and indefinite position is most unsatisfactory for all concerned.

You will remember that I asked you that some of our scientists might be afforded opportunities of training at Harwell. You told me then that there would be no difficulty about this if a political settlement was arrived at. We have tried for that political settlement without great success thus far. What then now am I to expect in regard to this matter ?

I have written to you at length and quite frankly. I am distressed that matters should take a wrong turn and come in the way of that close co-operation between India and the U.K. which I had looked forward to. I feel that British policy has not been very happy in Asia, in India and in Kashmir. Why it should have been so is more than I can understand, because I see no benefit to the United Kingdom in adopting this policy towards India. India counts even now and will count a great deal later.

Please forgive me for this long letter. I am writing it from Jaipur where I have come for Congress Session. I should be grateful to have your views in regard to the matters referred to above.

Yours,
Jawaharlal

23. Foreign Policy¹

The National Congress has, even while it was struggling for the freedom of India, associated itself with progressive movements and struggles for freedom in other countries. India's liberation was viewed as a part of the larger freedom of all the countries and peoples of the world. In particular, the Congress has stood in the past for the ending of all imperialist domination and colonial exploitation of any country or people, and has opposed Fascism and all other tendencies which suppress the human spirit.

The achievement of independence has brought new responsibilities to India in international affairs and it became necessary to develop direct and closer contacts with other nations. The Congress welcomes these contacts and trusts that they will lead to mutual understanding and cooperation and the promotion of world peace.

The foreign policy of India must necessarily be based on the principles that have guided the Congress in past years. These principles are the promotion of world peace, the freedom of all nations and the ending of imperialism and colonialism, and racial equality.² In particular, the Congress is interested in the freedom of the nations and peoples of Asia and Africa who have suffered under various forms of colonialism for many generations.

With a view to advance the cause of world peace and cooperation, India associated herself with the United Nations. This Congress declares its full adherence to the principles underlying the Charter of the United Nations.

It should be the constant aim of the foreign policy of India to maintain friendly and cooperative relations with all nations and to avoid entanglement in military or similar alliances which tend to divide up the world in rival groups and thus endanger world peace. Maintaining her freedom of action in foreign affairs and in the economic development of the country, India should continue to function as a member State of the United Nations, cooperating with other states in the maintenance of peace and freedom.

In view of the attainment of complete independence and the coming³ establishment of the Republic of India which will symbolise that independence and give to India the status among the nations of the world that is her rightful due, her present association with the United Kingdom and the Common-

1. Resolution drafted by Nehru and passed at the Jaipur Congress, 19 December 1948. J.N. Collection.
2. The words "and the ending of imperialism and colonialism and racial equality" were rearranged to read, "racial equality and the ending of imperialism and colonialism".
3. The word "coming" has been omitted in the final resolution.

wealth of Nations will necessarily have to change. India however desires to maintain all such links with other countries as do not come in the way of her freedom of action and independence in any way⁴ and the Congress would welcome her free association with the independent nations of the Commonwealth for purposes of mutual advantage and peace.⁵

India is especially concerned with her neighbour countries of Asia and the Congress trusts that closer bonds of fellowship and cooperative effort for the maintenance of the freedom of Asian nations and their progress will be developed.

4. The words "in any way" were omitted from the final resolution.
5. The words "for purposes of mutual advantage and peace" were replaced by "for their commonweal and the promotion of world peace," in the final resolution.

11

FOREIGN POLICY

II. Pakistan

1. Cable to G.S. Bajpai¹

Your telegram 2316 dated 13th November. *Daily Telegraph's* report completely without foundation. Inter-Dominion Conference fixed for sixth December will not consider Kashmir issue at all. It is chiefly concerned with financial matters and migration from East to West Bengal.

Exodus from East Bengal continues and causing us considerable anxiety.² This depends very largely on deterioration of political and economic conditions in East Bengal.

Very large sums due to India from Pakistan for stores supplied and as a result of various decisions on partition. Pakistan raises trivial objections and makes no payment. Meanwhile continues asking for more stores although it has not sent any stores to us as agreed upon. We are telling them that in future we can only send stores on their sending an equivalent quantity to us.

1. New Delhi, 15 November 1948. File No. KS-53/48, Ministry of States, M.H.A.
2. According to the official figures of the Government of West Bengal about sixteen lakhs of emigrants from East Bengal had entered the State upto 1 January 1949.

2. To Sri Prakasa¹

New Delhi
November 18, 1948

My dear Prakasa,

Thank you for your letter of November 14th. It is delightful to read your letters, specially when they deal with matters other than those relating to Pakistan. I am a little fed up with this Pakistan-India relations business. I often think of the old days with some envy when we really lived freer lives.

I quite realise what you have to go through in Karachi. It is perhaps our loneliest and most difficult diplomatic post. In another sense Moscow is a difficult and dreary post and Vijayalakshmi is worn out. She wants very much to come away and yet I do not know who to send in her place and so, I am asking her to carry on.

1. J.N. Collection.

I have just received your express letter of the 16th November in which you give an account of your long private talk with Liaquat Ali. I appreciate his desire not to permit any aggression on Pakistan territory. I wish he would also appreciate our desire not to permit aggression on Indian Union territory in Kashmir.

His proposal for a plebiscite in Kashmir Valley and for a decision in the other parts of Kashmir State on the basis of Muslim and non-Muslim population, is fantastic. I am afraid I see no way to decide this matter by negotiations.

I have asked Bidhan Roy to try to meet Liaquat Ali Khan.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

3. To Vallabhbhai Patel¹

New Delhi
18th November 1948

My dear Vallabhbhai,

I enclose a copy of a letter from Liaquat Ali Khan.² I do not suppose there is much room for a reply.

Yours,
Jawaharlal

1. *Sardar Patel's Correspondence 1945-50*, Vol. 6, p. 485.

2. In his letter of 15 November 1948, Liaquat Ali Khan said that action against the Khan brothers and the Khudai Khidmatgars had been taken only after the efforts to enlist their cooperation in the service of Pakistan had failed. He also asserted that peace had finally been restored in N.W.F.P.

4. Telegram to B.C. Roy¹

Your telegram about Pakistan refusing to allow certain goods in transit from Calcutta to Assam by steamer. We know nothing about this and neither our Ministry of Railways nor Ministry of Transport have any information. We understand however that owing to congestion of wagons at Santahar and Parbatipur no movement of wagons was possible for some days. This is being relieved gradually. Bhandarkar² Member, Railway Board in Calcutta hopes to see you.

1. New Delhi, 19 November 1948. J.N. Collection.
2. Vaman Prabhakar Bhandarkar (b. 1892); joined Indian State Railways Service, 1914; served as Assistant Traffic Superintendent in E.B. Railway, 1914-34; Manager, Indian Railways Publicity Bureau, London, 1934-37; District Traffic Superintendent, E.B. Railway, 1937-42; Deputy Chief Transport Manager, Bengal and Assam Railway, 1942-46; General Manager, 1947; Member, Transportation, Railway Board, September 1947-51.

5. Telegram to B.C. Roy¹

Thank you for your letter of 20th November. Fully appreciate what you say, but I am still definitely of opinion that larger interests of West Bengal and India require us to take long distance dispassionate view and not to be pushed about by Pakistan's misbehaviour. Any claim for territory is completely unreal. It only means, not only in eyes of Pakistan but of the world, that we are thinking in terms of war with Pakistan. This must necessarily add to the exodus greatly apart from other unfortunate consequences. I know something about foreign opinion on this issue as I have discussed it abroad. I have no objection to some military being stationed in occupied chars provided there is no great show of force anywhere and strict injunctions are given to military and police to avoid incidents.

In regard to Pakistan's proposal for *status quo* pending amicable settlement after joint survey, it is clear so far as we are concerned that *status quo* must be based on present possession and occupation. This can be stated to Pakistan in accepting their proposal. You will be seeing Liaquat Ali Khan soon. It is desirable that you should talk to him on these lines otherwise situation will deteriorate.

1. New Delhi, 23 November 1948. File No. 9-10/48-Pak.I, M.E.A., N.A.I.

6. Telegram to B.C. Roy¹

I have been given to understand that District Magistrates of border districts between West and East Bengal have been instructed to bring pressure on Muslims in those areas to leave West Bengal and go over to East Bengal. This information has surprised and distressed me greatly, as it is entirely opposed to our policy and is fraught with grave consequences. Could you please let me know if there is any truth in this report.

1. New Delhi, 29 November 1948. J.N. Collection.

7. To N. Gopalaswami Ayyangar¹

New Delhi
December 7, 1948

My dear Gopalaswami,

After the swearing in ceremony this morning, the Governor General had a brief talk with me. In the course of this he said that since questions of property agitated refugees from Pakistan and to Pakistan greatly and were a perpetual source of insecurity to the people concerned, it would be desirable to agree to having a tribunal to decide such questions. That tribunal would deal with the property issues only and not with any other political issues. It may be that the tribunal may not decide rightly in some cases, according to our viewpoint.

Nevertheless that would be better than allowing matters to drift and new rights in property being created which would make a change more difficult or impossible later.

What could such a tribunal be? It may consist of two judges, one nominated by India, the other by Pakistan. They may disagree of course. Even so they might be able to bring about a certain uniformity in dealing with this question. It would be desirable to have a third judge, as far as possible impartial. Whether such a judge could be found in India or Pakistan and accepted as such by both is rather doubtful. Rajaji was prepared to have a foreign judge as a third judge. Normally one would not like any such intrusion, but in the limited question of property it would not involve any parti-

1. J.N. Collection.

cular risks. The alternative to having a tribunal is practically no decision. In fact, there is no satisfactory alternative. The appointment of a tribunal might well have a reassuring and stabilizing effect on the refugees.

I think Rajaji's proposal is well worth considering and I should like you to give thought to it.

I am sending a copy of this letter to Sardar Patel.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

8. To John Matthai¹

New Delhi
December 12, 1948

My dear Matthai,

Some weeks or months ago I learnt rather accidentally about certain income-tax assessment on Shaheed Suhrawardy, who used to be the Premier of Bengal. Certain facts in connection with this struck me as odd and I believe I tried to find out more about them, but I have no recollection of getting any fuller information then.

Tonight I had a visit from Suhrawardy. This was mainly concerned with political matters and inter-Dominion relations. He also spoke about this income-tax affair. The story he gave me was rather extraordinary and if there is even some truth in it, then it is deserving of full enquiry.

Apart from the personal aspect of the matter, there are certain public consequences of what might be done to Suhrawardy. Every such action has certain reactions both in India and Pakistan. The Pakistan newspapers have indeed commented on this and pointed out what the fate of Muslims in India is. Another reaction is also marked and that is the treatment by income-tax people in Pakistan, notably in Sind, of non-Muslims. We have had numerous complaints about fantastic and exorbitant assessment, and we have drawn Pakistan Government's notice to these complaints.

Thus any matter concerning Suhrawardy and his income-tax should be perfectly straightforward and above board, not merely in a strictly legalistic sense, but also from the point of view of the common man. What Suhrawardy told me may or may not be true or it may be partly true, but I must confess that it has disturbed me greatly and I have the feeling that a full enquiry should be made to find out exactly what has happened and how.

1. J.N. Collection.

He informs me that he has been assessed for an income-tax of 50 lakhs of rupees for two years, probably 1945-46 and 1946-47. He sent no return and some kind of an arbitrary assessment was made. The income-tax people were undoubtedly justified in making their own assessment in the circumstances. But 50 lakhs is a very big figure and requires looking into. Suhrawardy of course says that it has nothing to do with his income. At the time he was asked to send a return, he was Premier and, up to his neck in Bengal problems, which were none too easy. Indeed he had to resign soon after.

Suhrawardy's record in Bengal as Premier was thoroughly bad, but you will remember that he associated himself with Gandhiji later and undoubtedly helped greatly in preserving peace. He became for many months almost an attendant on Gandhiji. How far this was a true conversion, I cannot say. But there is no doubt that he has worked hard for communal unity and has fallen out with Pakistan completely. He was offered a governorship, a ministership and an ambassadorship, by Pakistan. He refused all these offers. He is an alien in Pakistan and hardly a citizen in India.

According to Suhrawardy, there was a deliberate attempt at harassment and vindictiveness in all this business. That is a matter to be found out. When, owing to his inability to pay the tax, steps to attach his property, etc., were contemplated, Shanmukham Chetty stopped this execution. But on Chetty's departure execution was proceeded with. Apparently he filed an appeal, but this was dismissed on some technical plea. He has filed another appeal which is pending.

His request was that there should be a stay of these proceedings till he had exhausted his legal remedies. This request was not granted and his bank accounts have been frozen and a factory of which he is part-owner has been put up for sale. It is not possible for him to do any business or other remunerative work.

He asked the income-tax people to inspect and value all the properties he possessed including the factory etc. It was obvious, he said, that he cannot pay more than his total assets. If nothing is done, he will be reduced to utter bankruptcy and as a defaulting assessee, will be unable to take up trade or profession or have any credit. The consequences on him are thus very serious. If, by any chance, his appeal succeeds in the end, this will do him little good if his property has already been sold.

Apparently Padhi,² the Chairman of the Central Board of Revenue, is seized of the matter and he has ordered a brief stay of execution, pending the examination of some papers which is sent to the Commissioner of Income-tax in Calcutta. But this will not last long and in the circumstances there can be no independent enquiry.

2. Prakash Chandra Padhi.

Suhrawardy has been attacking many of the policies of the Pakistan Government. *Dawn* has written that this is being done merely to get the income-tax assessment reduced in India. Thus his *bona fides* are challenged and on both sides an attempt is being made to ruin him both financially and politically.

In view of these very serious consequences, both personal and in the larger sense, political, we should be very careful as to how we should proceed in this matter. There must be no suspicion of injustice or of vindictiveness. I suggest that you might have this matter looked into immediately in order to decide what further steps should be taken to have a fuller enquiry. Meanwhile, it seems to me the right thing for all execution proceedings to be stopped pending the result both of the legal steps that Suhrawardy might be taking and the result of any enquiry that might be made on your behalf. I trust you will be able to do this.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

9. To B.C. Roy¹

New Delhi
December 12, 1948

My dear Bidhan,

Do you know anything about the income-tax assessment of Shaheed Suhrawardy. I remember your mentioning it once to me. Shaheed has been telling me about it and his account was very extraordinary. I have been disturbed by it and I want to have an enquiry made. Whatever our views about Shaheed might be, specially about his past conduct, we cannot afford to do anything in a high-handed manner. This has political consequences of a far-reaching character.

I know you have nothing to do with this and I shall deal with it with our income-tax department. But I just wanted your own impression about this business.

I have just had a letter from Kailas Nath Katju in which he says that he intends attending the Jaipur Session.

Yours,
Jawaharlal

1. J.N. Collection.

10. To Vallabhbhai Patel¹

New Delhi

14 December 1948

My dear Vallabhbhai,

I am sending you with this letter an extract from a report from our Charge d'Affaires in Brussels, Badruddin Tyabji.² This extract deals with a conversation with Mrs. Ikramullah,³ wife of the Pakistan Foreign Secretary⁴ and niece of Shahid Suhrawardy. This lady has delivered very offensive speeches at the U.N. General Assembly, specially on the question of genocide in India.⁵ Before partition she was a very aggressive Muslim Leaguer.

I am sure you will be interested in this report.

Yours,
Jawaharlal

1. J.N. Collection. Also available in *Sardar Patel's Correspondence 1945-50*, Vol.6, pp. 347-348.

2. (b. 1907); joined I.C.S. 1932; served mostly in the Punjab, 1932-47; Charge d' Affaires, Indian Embassy, Brussels, 1948-50; Joint-Secretary, Ministry of External Affairs, 1950-52; Commonwealth Secretary, 1952-53; Ambassador to, Indonesia, 1954-56, Iran, 1956-58, West Germany, 1958-60; Special Secretary, Ministry of External Affairs, 1961-62; Vice-Chancellor, Aligarh Muslim University, 1962-65; Ambassador to Japan, 1965-67.

3. Shaista S. Ikramullah (b.1915); daughter of Sir Hassan Suhrawardy; Member, Constituent Assembly of Pakistan, 1947-54, resigned in protest against the constitution not being formed; member, Advisory Board of Education, 1947-56; member and leader of Pakistan delegation to U.N., 1948 and 1956 respectively; Ambassador to Morocco, 1964-67; author of *Letters to Neena*, (1951) and *From Purdah to Parliament* (1963).

4. Mohammad Ikramullah (1903-1963); joined I.C.S. 1927; served in various capacities from 1927-46; Secretary for Foreign Affairs and Commonwealth Relations, Government of Pakistan, 1947-51; High Commissioner of Pakistan in Canada, 1952-53; Ambassador in France, 1953-55; High Commissioner in the U.K., 1955-59 and Minister in Lisbon, 1957-60; Secretary to Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 1959-61; Chairman, Commonwealth Economic Committee, 1961-63.

5. Shaista Ikramullah had expressed her disillusionment with Pakistan and her anxiety for better relations between the two countries. She also conveyed her appreciation of Nehru's desire for the merger of Kashmir with India as it would vindicate India's secular character.

11. Indians in Pakistan Prisons¹

I understand from Sharma,² the photographer, who was interned by the Pakistanis, that about 600 prisoners belonging to the Indian or Kashmir State Army plus some civilians are kept in Attock fort. They are in a bad condition without proper clothes or anything else. Sharma says that the Pakistan Red Cross people were perfectly willing to allow the Indian Red Cross men to visit these prisoners with gifts etc., provided a Pakistan mission could visit the prisoners we have.

This matter is worth investigating and I think, it would be desirable for us to arrange to send a Red Cross Mission with some gifts to Attock for our people there. The Indian Red Cross should be contacted and they might get in touch with the Pakistan Red Cross. Or the matter might be arranged through Dr. Wenger³ of the International Red Cross.

1. Note to the Ministry of Defence, 15 December 1948. J.N. Collection.
2. P.N. Sharma, a press photographer, who, while covering the forward areas in an aeroplane, was shot down in Pakistan occupied part of Kashmir and was imprisoned in Pakistan for a year until his release on 2 December 1948; author of *Inside Pakistan Occupied Kashmir*.
3. Otto Wenger.

11

FOREIGN POLICY

III. The United Kingdom

1. Adding to Friendly Ties with Britain¹

I am happy to be here in Britain again after a long interval. During the last year I have been trying to come to England to meet friends here but somehow I have been prevented from doing so. Now I have at last arrived and I feel happy and look forward greatly to meeting friends and discussing many important matters. I hope to add to the friendly ties that exist between India and England, and during my stay here to say a great deal on many occasions.

It is rather early to comment on suggestions that India might move to become a republic. The time to comment is when I am departing, not now when I have just arrived. This sort of question cannot be answered by 'yes' or 'no'. We obviously want a closer relationship with England. Obviously the matter may be decided by the Constituent Assembly of India in the course of the next few months.

Question : Have you brought any papers connected with the alleged transfer of Hyderabad State funds in London ?

JN : It is a lawyer's job. Why should I worry ? I certainly have not a scrap of paper with me.

1. Talk with journalists on arrival at London Airport, 6 October 1948. From *The Hindustan Times*, 8 October 1948.

2. Learning from the British Economic Experience¹

Pandit Nehru said that it was difficult at short notice to draw the lessons for India from this complex statement of the economic position.² He had followed with interest and admiration the efforts of the United Kingdom Government to deal with the economic situation and had drawn inspiration from them.

1. Extracts from the minutes of the second meeting of the Commonwealth Prime Ministers, London, 11 October 1948. J.N. Papers, N.M.M.L.
2. Stafford Cripps, Chancellor of the Exchequer, gave a general survey of the economic situation and of the prospects of the United Kingdom and the sterling area.

The object for India seemed to be to avoid the extremes of inaction and of wrong action, and a socialised economy on a carefully planned basis seemed the only safeguard against economic disaster. India was industrially undeveloped and her Government's chief object must be to increase production, particularly by means of industrialisation. From the larger point of view, it was exceedingly important that industrially backward areas should be developed. Accordingly, although the resuscitation of Western Europe was vital, attention should also be turned to parts of the world which were capable of fairly rapid development, but had not been developed in the past. India would like to get capital goods from the sterling area, but her need of them was so great that she must resort to the United States if she could not get what she wanted elsewhere. It was necessary for India to organize and increase production. Only so could recurring crises be avoided with their fruits of despair, frustration and chaos.

3. To Vallabhbhai Patel¹

London
11 October 1948

My dear Vallabhbhai,

I returned last night from Broadlands where I had a very restful weekend, riding and walking in the lovely countryside. Incidentally, I saw numerous prefabricated houses being put up in all stages ...

Mountbatten spoke to me about two matters about which I shall probably write to you separately, or I may write to the Ministry concerned. One is about Jaipur House being acquired by the United Kingdom Government for the British High Commissioner in New Delhi. Mountbatten is frightfully anxious about this. He has been carrying on negotiations with Stafford Cripps, Archibald Nye, the Maharaja of Jaipur² and others. Apparently the State Department of the Government of India or may be the States Ministry, have come in the way although the Maharaja of Jaipur had ultimately agreed, even to the price. I told Mountbatten that we were rather averse to these Princes' houses being sold to foreign ambassadors, etc. Also, that the land was given at special rates to the Princes and we see no reason why they should profit entirely by the appreciation. To this, he replied that

1. *Sardar Patel's Correspondence 1945-50*, Vol. 7, pp. 662-664. Extracts.

2. Sawai Man Singh (1911-1970); Ruler of Jaipur State from October 1922; Rajpramukh of Rajasthan, 1946-56; elected member of Rajya Sabha, April 1962; a keen sportsman and an outstanding polo player.

the British High Commissioner's case should be considered as a special one and he had great difficulty in getting Nye to accept the job. He wanted more space not only for his work but for British guests who in future need not necessarily go to Government House. As for the second point, it appears that Jaipur has rather a peculiar position in regard to the land in Delhi. In fact, the land belonged to Jaipur before New Delhi came into existence and it was he who gave it to the Government of India, keeping some for himself. So that he has a freehold on that land and certain special claims which other princes have not got. In view of this, I think we might treat this case as a special one and allow the United Kingdom Government to purchase it for its own use.³ This would please the United Kingdom Government and Mountbatten specially. The price I believe has been fixed at 39 lakhs. Stafford Cripps has agreed to this and has further made it clear that this sum will not come out of our portion of the sterling balances.

The second matter which is exercising Mountbatten is some payment to be made to his own surgeon⁴ in the Viceroy's House, who used to be in the I.M.S. but left on the winding up of that service. He is a Canadian and has gone back to Canada. There is no question of the sum to be paid to him: that is settled. The only question is whether we can pay him in Canadian dollars which he wants. Normally, of course, we will pay him sterling or in rupees. In the present case, the sum involved is relatively small and Mountbatten's wishes might be given effect to and payment made in dollars.⁵

At Broadlands, I had a long talk with Stafford Cripps who came over for the day. We discussed every subject including Kashmir, Hyderabad and India's relations to the Commonwealth. On the whole, his approach was a friendly and cooperative one. He has grown with the years. I shall see him again and I hope to discuss certain economic planning matters with him and his advisers.

Previously, I had met Attlee and had a general discussion with him.

This morning the Dominion Prime Ministers' Conference opened. Nothing important was done today. I met for the first time some of the Premiers who were friendly. Liaquat Ali Khan was there as also Zafrullah. Liaquat Ali came to me in a very friendly and effusive way.

3. Patel said that the Jaipur House could not be spared by the Maharaja for sale because it accommodated 150 refugees besides a few government officers and the remaining portion was reserved for the Maharaja. He added that the Cabinet was in favour of outright purchase, by the Government, of all available Princes' houses and leasing them to embassies where necessary, pending materialisation of the proposed diplomatic colony.
4. Lieut.-Col. A.C. Taylor (b. 1900); joined I.M.S., 1935; Surgeon to the Viceroy from January 1947.
5. Patel cabled that he was looking into Taylor's case which needed the approval of Ministry of Finance.

In the course of the next few days I shall probably meet some of the Dominion Premiers separately and perhaps Liaquat Ali also. I have seen some of the important British Ministers also, separately.

I am going to Paris on Friday evening for the weekend, and hope to meet Marshall,⁶ Vyshinsky⁷ and some others. Evatt has invited me to attend a special session of the General Assembly but we have not fixed the date yet.

I received a letter from Sir Walter Monckton a copy of which I enclose as well as a copy of my reply.⁸ I shall probably meet him also. A small retainer has been given to him regarding the Westminster Bank affair.

I shall keep you informed of developments here.

Yours,
Jawaharlal

6. George C. Marshall.

7. Andrei Y. Vyshinsky.

8. See *ante*, section 3 item 1.

4. Closer Cooperation between India and Britain¹

I think I am sufficiently conscious of my many virtues not to feel so very humble as some people think that I do occasionally feel; but nevertheless it is rather embarrassing to be addressed in the manner that old friends and colleagues have addressed me this evening.² Well, they did it, I suppose, out of the goodness of their hearts, but I think you should realise that whatever has happened in India in the past many years has been essentially not a one or two or three men's show; it has been something bigger and something which involved the labour and sacrifice of a large number of

1. Speech at a reception organised by the India League at the Kingsway Hall, London, 12 October 1948. V.K. Krishna Menon Papers, N.M.M.L.
2. For instance Lord Pethick-Lawrence who presided over the meeting spoke of Nehru as : "One of those great minds that bridge the barriers which human beings set up against one another" and who combined, more than anyone else, all that is best in the East and the West, malice was unknown to him, bitterness did not belong to him, failure and defeat never dismayed him, victory and success never unduly elated him. Harold Laski said that he was impressed by Nehru's respect for the humble man and woman of India, who lived "on the edge of economic disaster." In Nehru he said, "there was an awareness of this, a knowledge that it is a supreme problem, a sense of urgency about its solution that only two or three times in my life I have encountered in men of similar stature."

human beings.

One is apt to symbolise in individuals—and it would be right in the case of Gandhi because he was a symbol of India and because he was the man who built up the freedom movement and fathered it. It is rather improper to pick out others and praise them too much, and I am completely honest in what I say. I think I played a considerable part in the struggle for Indian freedom; nevertheless, that considerable part is a very small part when you look at the whole thing, and there are many others. I am made much of because of certain circumstances and because, as I often tell my friends, I have the capacity for showmanship. Therefore when you think of the past years in India you think, obviously of Gandhi, but think also of the vast numbers of human beings who for many years, year after year, worked with a remarkably high moral purpose, with a level of courage which resulted in what we have seen.

I remember coming to this hall and my past visits to it. More particularly, I remember the last occasion nearly two years ago when I came here.³ During those two years a very great deal has happened in India, and most of us who have been there have passed through very powerful experiences which have left a permanent impression on the minds of all who were there. We passed through horror beyond words, and I do not think I could have survived but for the fact that Gandhi was there. Nevertheless, we survived, not only as individuals but as a nation; survived not only that horror—the physical horror—but, much more so, that mental pain and anguish that accompanied it when it seemed to appear that all we had worked for had turned to ashes. It did not turn to ashes, however, because the foundations had been too deeply laid by Gandhi and because, oddly enough, at the very moment of his assassination and death, he strengthened those foundations again. I do think, however weak we may be and forgetful and we have often been this, we can ever forget his message entirely or, I hope, stray too far from it.

Now, in the course of this year many things have happened. It is a long story and I am not going to repeat it. But certainly, one rather remarkable thing is the change in the relations of England and India.⁴ Probably when the history of these times comes to be written, this fact will have an important place, not only because two countries and two peoples were involved, but probably because it will have been of the largest significance in history. I should like, on this occasion, to say a few words about this and to pay a tribute to the people who brought it about.

3. See *Selected Works* (Second Series), Vol. 1, pp. 125-141.

4. Stanley Reed, M.P. and former Editor, *The Times of India*, gave Nehru a message for the people of India thus: "We of the British people are with you, now and always, with the utmost of our sympathy and to the maximum of our resources to help you on the path which you have so boldly and confidently taken."

I do not think I should be quite honest in saying that everything that has been done has been rightly done on both sides. I think even in this process mistakes were made which unfortunately led to evil consequences. I think the problem of the States would have been simpler if the wrong turning had not been given to it. But this is rather a comparatively small thing in relation to the great things.

I would like to congratulate in public the present Government of the United Kingdom and the people of Britain for the courage and vision they showed at a very critical moment in their dealings with India. I should say that courage and vision has already yielded—to those who can see it—substantial fruit. It is an extraordinary thing how feelings in India—and remember the past background of generations of struggle and bitter conflict—how that sense of conflict has rapidly faded away; not entirely yet, but generally speaking it has faded with remarkable rapidity. For that I think there are two causes. One is certainly the manner in which the whole struggle for freedom was conceived and carried on by Gandhi—undoubtedly a very basic fact—and the other, the manner in which, at that critical juncture, the British Government and the people handled the situation. People who talk of their anxieties for what might be the outcome for England or India think of it in legal and other terms. Well, I do not know at this moment exactly what shape it might take, and all I can say is this: first of all that I should like the closest cooperation between the people of India and the people of Britain. But whatever form it might take, it is obvious that any foundation for cooperation is this sense of comradeship and fellow-feeling and absence of conflict between them. We have already, during the past year, gone pretty far in removing that sense of conflict, thereby leaving the door open for close cooperation.

May I in this connection also say something about what Professor Laski referred to⁵—that at that particular juncture, quite apart from the other steps that the British Government took, it was an act of extraordinary wisdom to choose a man suited to the task to carry out that policy in India. During the past one and a half years or more that we were associated with the last Viceroy of India and the first Governor General, we saw each other pretty closely, and I have no doubt that on both sides we were conscious of mistakes being made, and these were often pointed out to each other. But looking at the broad picture, these mistakes did not count really. It is the physical, psychological and moral approach to problems that counts, and Lord Mountbatten brought not only great energy and ability, but a sense of associating himself completely for the good of India, thereby succeeding where perhaps other

5. Harold Laski, a former Chairman of the Labour Party, had said that the fulfilment of the pledge of the Labour Party by the present Government of Britain was its "most outstanding achievement and one which would give it the greatest title to distinction."

people with other advantages—even somebody more perfect in everything but lacking that psychological approach—could not have gone so far.

It was fortunate for India and England to have Lord Mountbatten there during this period. It was at least equally fortunate for India to have this gracious lady. During those days of just about a year ago when, as I said, horror pursued us and our nights and days were filled with darkness, one of the persons who moved about from camp to camp of refugees and homeless people and in the hospitals, and who brought relief and good cheer to them, was Lady Mountbatten. And so when she was on the point of leaving India, these hundreds of thousands of people—and remember we have had to deal with the problem of providing for five million refugees—it was a colossal problem. We have not solved it yet but we are doing so gradually, and in dealing with this problem the enormous help from Lady Mountbatten was something which amazed our people—when she was leaving some months back there were many people in India very sorry that she was going away, but the people who were most sorry of all were those refugees. I think it would not be incorrect of me to say that there are few persons in India, Indian or other, who are so beloved as Lady Mountbatten.

There is one more thing I should like to say. On this occasion I think of so many of our British comrades and colleagues here in those days when we were gathered here in this hall as agitators and passed resolutions or delivered speeches etc. I remember those colleagues who stood for so many good causes in spite of the difficulties, and who stood then for the freedom of India. Perhaps there are not so many of those people here and they did not have too much applause for what they said or did; nevertheless, they stood for it. Probably many of them achieved little in the way of praise, but those who have functioned in such movements know that it is only such people who are the salt of the earth.

I am very sorry to miss here at this meeting our friend and colleague who is the High Commissioner. I am sorry that I am chiefly responsible for his not coming here. I insisted on his remaining in bed. In fact, I was so afraid that he might come, in spite of the high fever that he had, that just before coming to Kingsway Hall I saw to it that he was almost forcibly kept in bed. I am sorry to miss him because he is so intimately associated with these gatherings in this country.

May I for a moment speak to you in an official capacity as Foreign Minister of India, and say that of all the people who serve us, there is none that is abler or more devoted to his work or more hard-working than the High Commissioner for India. I want to pay this tribute to his work because he rightly deserves it, and perhaps it is as well that he is not here because if he were here I might not have said all this. We have had to build up a foreign

service. We are doing it now. It is difficult to begin from scratch, but among those who are doing this now, we have been in our choice of High Commissioner here in London most fortunate.

I thank you, kind friends, for your welcome.

5. Towards Peace and Friendship¹

I do not think there is any chance of war. I think the world would eventually have to accept Mahatma Gandhi's fundamental principle of nonviolence.

We poor folk who function on the political plane have to compromise. We have even to choose what we think may be the lesser of the two evils and it is a difficult thing for us to decide what to do in certain circumstances because the only path open is not an attractive path, and yet not taking it is even less attractive.

A remarkable change for the better had occurred in the psychological relations between the peoples of India and Britain after India won her independence. Many Indians, however, could not get rid of their past ideas and associations. There were a good many people in England who dislike the idea of a free, independent India and sometimes cannot restrain themselves from giving expression to their extreme dislike of what has happened. But I think that is a passing phase, passing in the sense that things are changing and this kind of thinking is found among the people of the older generation. The younger generation, without these complexes, will come more to the forefront.

Mahatma Gandhi always emphasised that India was fighting against a system and not against a people. He was man who would not budge from his path whatever the consequences. Such men usually end up by being stoned or put to death. It is perhaps in the fitness of things that Mahatma Gandhi was assassinated. His death had been the perfect end to a perfect life.

I would urge all Indians who are returning home to join in the work of building up a new India with all the fervour it demands and consider it the greatest adventure in your lives.

1. Speech at a reception at India House, London, 21 October 1948. Based on reports from *National Herald*, 23 October and *The Hindu*, 23 October 1948.

6. A New Atmosphere of Cooperation¹

I have come to England this time after many years, and I have found welcome and friendship wherever I have been. I am deeply grateful for this. Friends, I have had here for many years, but in the past, inevitably, there was a sense of conflict and hostility as between India and England. Fortunately, that is passing away, and we are approaching each other in new terms and in a new atmosphere of cooperation. The old colonial Empire of Britain gradually changed into a combination of free Commonwealth countries or dominions and the relics of that colonial non-self-governing countries. Now those colonial countries, or many of them, have also become free, some still remain. I hope, this changeover will be complete soon, so that the Commonwealth of nations should become a real Commonwealth of free nations. It has been a remarkable change, so far as India is concerned, because it affected not only vast numbers of people but also because of our past conflict lasting through generations. It shows that when a right step is taken, the consequences of that right step come swiftly.

In India today, there is very little of ill-feeling, in spite of the past, against England and I think what little might remain, will also fade away soon, as we cooperate together in the great tasks that confront us. I came here for the meeting of the Prime Ministers of the Dominions, and it was a privilege to meet many eminent statesmen who had come from the other Dominions. That meeting resulted in mutual understanding of each other. It resulted in each person finding out some of the difficulties of the other. We may not agree about everything, but it was surprising what a large measure of unanimity there was, not only in the objectives to be aimed at, but also in the methods to be pursued. After all, the objectives of the Commonwealth can only be the objectives so nobly stated in the Charter of the United Nations, that is, the establishment of peace, the prevention of conflict and the establishment of human rights all over the world. If the Commonwealth can succeed in doing that not only in its own sphere but help to do that in the larger sphere of the world, then the Commonwealth will have given the best possible lead to the world. This meeting has shown to me that there is great scope for the Commonwealth to function in this way, and not only to help itself but to help others also. I should like to express again my gratitude to the people of Britain and to the Government of Britain.

1. Broadcast from the B.B.C., London on 26 October 1948. A.I.R. tapes, N.M.M.L.

7. To C. Rajagopalachari¹

New Delhi

November 11, 1948

My dear Rajaji,

I have received a copy of the telegram from your office which the Lord Chamberlain sent about observances on the occasion of the birth of Princess Elizabeth's baby.² I understand that you approve of these observances being followed in India.

I have consulted some of my colleagues in this matter. We are not entirely happy about all these observances.³ There is bound to be criticism in the Constituent Assembly and elsewhere. It is one thing to show respect and honour to the King; it is somewhat different to do the same for a possible future incumbent of the British throne, especially when we ourselves are talking in terms of a Republic.

We feel, therefore, that some variation might be made. This variation is not particularly marked. Flags (our National Flag) should be flown on Government House and Secretariat buildings, as suggested.

Our Royal Indian Navy in Bombay will fire a royal salute. The Navy will also display the usual flags appropriate for the occasion.

The sole difference, therefore, is that we would rather not have the royal salute to be fired in Delhi or elsewhere other than by the R.I.N. in Bombay.

As a matter of fact, normally our flags are flown from Secretariat buildings. However, provincial governments can be informed that on this occasion the National Flag should be flown on the Government House and the Secretariat. It is particularly to be noted that the flag should be the National Flag.

I presume you will send an answer to the Lord Chamberlain. In the answer nothing need be said about the royal salute in Delhi. All that need be said is that flags will be flown, as suggested, and a royal salute will be fired by the R.I.N. in Bombay.

Yours,
Jawaharlal

1. File No. 2(274)/48-PMS. A copy of this letter was sent to the Home Ministry.
2. Charles, Prince of Wales, was born on 14 November 1948.
3. The observances were the firing of the royal salute and flags to be flown on all public buildings on the occasion.

8. To Archibald Nye¹

New Delhi
November 13, 1948

My dear Archie,²

I have read carefully the papers you gave me including the aide-memoire³ from the Chancellor of the Exchequer. I have also consulted some of my colleagues, including the Finance Minister.

I feel on reading through these statements that, although we have reached a large measure of agreement, there are certain important matters which still require clarification. The whole question of foreign participation in Indian concerns is now under Government's consideration and until we have completed our examination of this question, it seems to me hardly possible to lay down a definite policy regarding the position of British concerns in India vis-a-vis Indian concerns on the one hand and non-British on the other. I am taking steps to have it examined as soon as possible by a Committee of the Cabinet and I hope we shall be able to come to a decision before long.

I feel also that the place in which to make any statement is Parliament itself here as well as in London. Since the matters involved in it have long been subjects of public controversy in India, it might be more appropriate to announce Government's policy in Parliament before any indication of it is given elsewhere.

We would have no objection to the Chancellor's aide-memoire of the 8th July and our reply to it of the 3rd October being published officially. As regards the publication of his aide-memoire of the 9th November, it seems to me that unless our reply to it could be published at the same time, no useful purpose would be served. It would therefore be better in my judgement to wait for the final statement of Government's policy before releasing any papers for publication.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. File No. 44(8)/48-PMS.

2. Archibald Nye was High Commissioner for the United Kingdom in India.

3. The aide-memoire of 9 July 1948 expressed uneasiness over signs of India's ranking the U.K. with other foreign countries in treating it less favourably than Indian concerns. British manufacturers who were helping India with capital goods would react adversely to this. It asked that the U.K. be shown the draft of the proposed Industrial Policy Legislation in advance so that it could make any representation, if necessary.

9. Cable to V.K. Krishna Menon¹

Our representative in Singapore² informs us my speech at the United Nations Assembly³ produced favourable reaction among leaders of Asian communities. But this reaction has shocked the British press there and they have avoided publication of such speeches. Our Singapore representative visited Hong Kong reports that eminent Chinese leaders in Hong Kong planning formal coalition government for China if Chiang Kai-shek fails.

In Malaya since arrival of Gurney⁴ new High Commissioner and of Palestine Police and Guards, strong measures being taken against terrorists are often indiscriminate. While papers publish that Chinese villages that harbour Communists are burnt down by police action reliable information that even Malayan villages are burnt down for such reasons as villagers running away from sheer fright on seeing military. This is considered due to guilty conscience of villagers.

You may make such private use of this information as you consider desirable in order to draw British Government's attention to it.

1. New Delhi, 14 November 1948. V.K. Krishna Menon Papers, N.M.M.L.
2. John Aloysi Thivy.
3. See *ante*, section 11, sub-section I, item 9.
4. Henry Lovell Goldsworthy Gurney (1898-1951); entered colonial service, Kenya, 1921; Assistant Colonial Secretary, Jamaica, 1935; Chief Secretary to Conference of East African Governors, 1938-44; Colonial Secretary, Gold Coast, 1944-46; Chief Secretary to Palestine Government, 1946-48; High Commissioner for Federation of Malaya, 1948-51.

10. To V.K. Krishna Menon¹

New Delhi
December 2, 1948

My dear Krishna,

Your letter, sent by hand, of the 28th November has just reached me.² I hasten to reply to it. I have only a few minutes just now.

1. V.K. Krishna Menon Papers, N.M.M.L.
2. Krishna Menon wrote that it would be improper for T.G. Sanjeevi, Director of Intelligence Bureau, to come to London without his knowledge and formal intimation to Premier Attlee and added that while India should cooperate with the U.K., "I do not think it necessary or appropriate that our political intelligence should function as an annexure to theirs."

For some time past the idea of Sanjeevi going to England was discussed.³ This was not to link up with British intelligence in any particular way, though some kind of a linking might be there. It was rather to study methods adopted there to deal with intelligence. While this vague idea had been going on, an invitation came from Sir Percy Sillitoe.⁴ We did not quite know what to do with it. As there was some thought of Sanjeevi going there, it was felt that the invitation might as well be accepted. To refuse it might have created difficulties in some ways.

Sanjeevi referred the matter to me right at the beginning. So did the Home Ministry. I told him that he should accept it, although I did not like the idea of this type of direct invitation. He must deal with any person there after reference to you and should keep you informed. I had asked him to write to you also.

I have no doubt that Sillitoe wants to see him for his own particular purposes and to get his help in gaining information from India. I have told Sanjeevi that in regard to many matters there is no particular secret and he can give him such information. But he must not tie himself with him in any way.

I think you should ask Sillitoe whether Attlee has been informed or not about this invitation to Sanjeevi. You may inform Attlee in the course of a conversation.

As for facilities, all that was intended was arrangements for stay etc.⁵ I did not want Sanjeevi to be Sillitoe's guest.

Sanjeevi could have a talk with Sillitoe, but he cannot tie us up in any way. All that he can do is to report to us.

Our main purpose in sending him is to give him an opportunity to find out what the set-up there is. You should have a talk with him not only at the beginning but later on too. Keep in touch.

There is no question of his being sent to report on India House or on you.⁶

Yours,
Jawaharlal

3. Percy Sillitoe had sent a private invitation to Sanjeevi, suggesting any date after 4 December to talk about matters of mutual interest.
4. (1888-1962); Director-General, British Security Service, 1946-53; author of *Cloak Without Dagger* (autobiography) 1955.
5. Krishna Menon wanted to know what facilities were to be offered to Sanjeevi for carrying out his functions in London.
6. Krishna Menon had written that while he did not suffer from "spymania", he did not want to find himself in a position that Sanjeevi "regards it as part of his duties to report on me or my staff."

11. Processing and Sale of Monazite¹

It is clear that we must go ahead with our plans for the setting up of the Monazite Processing Factory in Travancore in cooperation with the French firm. This should be expedited and I hope that the agreement will be signed soon.

2. As we are doing this, we cannot simultaneously carry on negotiations with any British firm for the same purpose. We have thus to inform the U.K. Government, through their Trade Commissioner here or otherwise, that having carefully considered all the various proposals in England, France etc., we have come to the conclusion that the French proposal is the most advantageous from every point of view, and we are therefore coming to an arrangement with them for the building of a factory. It is to be considered whether our informing the U.K. Government of this development at this stage might not perhaps produce some complications. On the other hand it does not seem quite fair to me to keep them in the darkness as we have had past dealings with them on this subject and evidently they expect an answer from us. I am inclined to think that some indication should be given to them now. That indication may consist of this: that we have given our closest consideration to a number of proposals. Our scientists went to Europe specially for this purpose and interviewed representatives of firms in England, France, Switzerland, etc., and found that the terms offered by the British firms were high whilst some of the others were much more advantageous. Naturally we have to accept the best terms that we can get.

3. At the same time it might be made clear to the U.K. Government that we shall gladly cooperate with them and supply them with Monazite to meet their immediate needs to the extent possible for us. We trust that our scientists will be offered cooperation and facilities in England.

4. We should thus be prepared to sell some of our Monazite to the U.K. To what extent, I cannot say. This is for our scientists to indicate.

6. We might also sell some of the Monazite to the U.S.A. We should not bind ourselves down to the future at this stage. In exchange for the Monazite we would normally expect some privileges or concessions.

6. Dr. Bhatnagar should indicate what his opinion is on these matters.

1. Note to S.S. Bhatnagar, New Delhi, 14 December 1948. J.N. Collection.

11

FOREIGN POLICY

IV. Indonesia

1. Cable to Mohammad Hatta¹

Received your message late.² Difficult to advise you from here without knowing fully internal conditions. Suggest your holding on vital matters but offering cooperation on other matters.

I have discussed Indonesian situation repeatedly in London and Paris³ with representatives of various Governments, and pointed out imminence of Dutch military action and very grave consequences that would follow. Much sympathy was expressed and I believe some action was also taken to impress Dutch but I doubt if this goes far enough. We are continuing our efforts on this behalf in Paris.

I can assure you of our solidarity with you in this grave crisis⁴ which confronts you and our desire to help in every way possible your Government.

1. Cairo, 4 November 1948. File No. 136 (TS) FEA/48, M.E.A., N.A.I.
2. In his cable of 1 November from Jogjakarta, Mohammad Yunus said that Hatta was apprehensive of another 'police action' by the Dutch and sought Nehru's advice before he met the Dutch Foreign Minister at Batavia on 4 November.
3. G.S. Bajpai was constantly in touch with the members to the Security Council and urging them to take some effective steps on the Indonesian issue.
4. On 3 November, Hatta had said in an interview with *Antara*, the Republican News Agency that the relation between Indonesian Republicans and the Dutch had turned worse and that the situation reminded him of that of 20 July 1947 when the Dutch "unleashed their army against the Republic."

2. Cable to G.S. Bajpai¹

Your telegram dated 6th Indonesia.² Have met Raghavan here. Other reports indicate position deteriorating and feverish preparations on behalf of Dutch for military action which, it is rumoured, might begin on November

1. New Delhi, 7 November 1948. J.N. Collection.
2. Bajpai had written from Paris that none in the British delegation to the United Nations was likely to take sympathetic or effective action on the Indonesian issue. He added that he would approach U.S.A. and one or two other members of the Security Council.

20th.³ Hatta has asked us for aircraft to carry away, if necessary, members of Indonesian Government. Also asked us if we could allow provisional Republican Government to function from India in case of need.

2. All this raises important issues and may lead to serious consequences in regard to our relations with Dutch. We shall certainly give shelter to any members of Indonesian Government who desire it. As to what other facilities we might be able to give will have to be considered later.

3. It should be pointed out to U.K. and U.S.A. that Dutch Government have been unable to restore law and order even in territories which they have occupied and are having continuous trouble with local nationalist elements. They seek to cast blame for this on Republic and call it infiltration, which is not true, except near borders in some places. In case Dutch occupied further territories they will have more trouble to face and incessant guerilla warfare of the bitterest type. They will never control these territories fully or be able to exploit them. Thus Dutch capacity for entering any aid in larger conflict will be materially lessened. At same time feeling in large parts of Asia will be violently against Dutch and to some extent against U.K. and U.S.A. for passively supporting Dutch. These are serious consequences from the point of view of U.K. and U.S.A. There can be no doubt whatever that ultimately Dutch will have to leave Indonesia. They can never re-establish themselves there as formerly. Attempts to form puppet governments will fail.⁴

4. Australian⁵ and New Zealand representatives⁶ should be kept informed.

Sending copy of this to Hicomind, London and Indembassy, Washington.

3. That the Dutch would ultimately use force was clear from what the former Dutch Governor General, H.J. Van Mook stated to a *Pakistan Times* correspondent in July 1948—"the Dutch were getting constant appeals from the people in Republic territories to come to their help." The Dutch did not rely on negotiations for achieving their objective. But they did not completely break off negotiations with the Republic as they had to mark time for renewing the military offensive. The second military action was launched on 18-19 December 1948.
4. Between December 1947 and December 1948 the Dutch had set up fifteen puppet states which included six *negaras* (states) viz., East Sumatra, South Sumatra, Pasundan or West Java, Madura, East Java, East Indonesia and nine autonomous units viz, West Borneo, East Borneo, South East Borneo, Bandjar, Greater Dayak, Banka, Belitung, Rion Archipelago and Middle Java. The Dutch intended to create a federal United States of Indonesia. But ultimately on 27 December 1949, the Dutch formally transferred sovereignty to Indonesia.
5. H.V. Evatt.
6. Carl August Berendsen (d. 1973); New Zealand High Commissioner in Australia, 1943-44, Minister in U.S.A., 1944-48, representative to various organs of the U.N., 1945-51, Ambassador in U.S.A., 1948-52.

3. Cable to Government of Indonesia¹

Government of India will gladly give all help within limits of its capacity to your Government. We are prepared to send aircraft to Jogjakarta but necessary to find pilot acquainted with route. We are trying to do so. Please inform us approximately when aircraft needed so that it may not have to wait for long.

2. Government of India will gladly give hospitality to any members of Indonesian Republican Government who come to India. Functioning of provisional republican government in India will involve international complications and much would depend on attitude of United Nations. Difficult therefore to give precise answer at this stage. But our attitude will be as friendly as possible. Our own suggestion is that every effort should be made for formal functioning of Republican Government from some part of Indonesian soil, probably in Sumatra. This would give Republic sure foothold for international purposes. Some members of Government may however stay in India. This arrangement should meet any emergency that might arise.

3. We are continuing most urgent representations in London, Paris and Washington and keeping Australia and New Zealand informed. We have pointed out dangerous consequences of possible Dutch military action and India's very close interest in freedom of Indonesia.

4. Would welcome visit to India of Dr. Hatta or Dr. Shahrir. Would also gladly help in every way Shahrir going to Paris. Please keep us informed of developments and your decisions.

1. Undated. This cable was sent from New Delhi on or before 8 November 1948. J.N. Collection.
2. To airlift Republican Government members, a Dakota of Kalinga Airline was sent to Singapore on 16 December 1948. The Dutch refused to give it clearance for onward journey to Jakarta and transit facility to Jogjakarta until 18 December night. On 19 December, the aircraft took off but was turned back from Jakarta by the Dutch authorities.
3. A series of informal meetings between Hatta and the Dutch Foreign Minister, Dirk Stikker, at Kaliurang from November 4 and 9, were held without the intermediary of the Good Offices Committee and concerned the possibility of a mutually agreeable basis for the establishment, pending the transfer of sovereignty to an interim federal government for all Indonesia in which the Republican Government would participate.

4. Airlifting of Indonesian Leaders¹

In view of the special emergency that exists in Indonesia, which was considered in Cabinet, it was decided that certain facilities be offered to the President and members of the Indonesian Government.² Among them was a plane to bring them to India if necessity arises. I hope therefore that the Finance Minister will agree. When the plane is asked for it should be so arranged that it does not have to stay there long. The Indonesian Government should be informed accordingly.

1. Note, 16 November 1948. File No. 136 (TS) FEA/48, M.E.A. and C.R., N.A.I.
2. The Government of India had decided to airlift Soekarno and his personal staff along with Shahrir, the Advisor to the Republic, Hadji Agoes Salim, the Foreign Minister and Mohammad Hatsir, the Information Minister so as to reach India around 20 December.

5. Financial Aid to Indonesia¹

A top secret telegram from our Consul General in Batavia is attached.² I shall be glad to know immediately what answer you would like me to send. I think we should meet their demands for money in the shape of a loan. It is not quite clear what the demands total upto. As far as I can see, they want in all Rs. 1,00,000/- to be divided up as follows :

To Indonesian Representative, India—	Rs. 15,000/-
-do- London—	Rs. 10,000/-
-do- Cairo—	Rs. 10,000/-
-do- Canberra—	Rs. 5,000/-
-do- Karachi—	Rs. 5,000/-
-do- Rangoon—	Rs. 5,000/-
<hr/>	
Total :	Rs. 50,000/-
Payment to Wiseko Soepono—	Rs. 50,000/-

1. Note to Finance Minister, 18 November 1948. File No. 1179-FEA/48, M.E.A., N.A.I.
2. The telegram conveyed Indonesian request for financial assistance which would be repaid either in gold or in Straits dollars.

This last item is not clear to me. I suggest that we might immediately agree to the demand of Rs. 50,000/- in various places as requested and we might meanwhile enquire about the other 50,000/-.

I should like to have your reaction about the 20 kilos of gold. I do not see why we should not accept the gold in payment. Our Consul General seems to prefer Straits dollars, why I do not know, nor do I understand why this is supposed to be less risky and not *ultra vires*.

Some time back we were asked by the Indonesian Government to allow them to keep their gold in deposit in India in some bank. We had agreed to do so. In case of trouble they are not likely to leave their gold where it may fall in enemy hands. We might therefore suggest that the gold can be kept in India anyhow.

6. To A. Soekarno¹

New Delhi
November 24, 1948

My dear President Soekarno,
I was delighted to receive your letter and I was happy that you have written to me in an informal way. It is my earnest wish to meet you.² I hope this will be realised before long.

We have been trying our utmost to help the cause of the Indonesian Republic. In London, Paris and Washington, in Cairo and Delhi, everywhere I laid stress on the dangers of the situation there and took a strong line against the Dutch policy. I know that I produced a great deal of effect on both the U.K. and the U.S.A. This was not because of their love for India or Indonesia, but because they began to realise that if the Dutch took action and they did not prevent it, the ill-will of a large part of Asia would pursue them. So from the point of view of their own future advantage, they began to think in terms of holding the Dutch. I think it may well be said that the action India has been taking has produced substantial results and has checked the Dutch very much. Whether it will finally succeed in doing so, I cannot say. But there is least chance of it now than there was.

It is not possible and it would be improper for me to seek to advise you as to what you should do. You and your colleagues are in the best position to judge.

1. J.N. Collection.
2. On 29 November Reuter reported that Soekarno has been invited by Jawaharlal Nehru to visit India, "to strengthen the bonds of friendship between India and the Indonesian Republic." This news was flashed by *Antara*.

SELECTED WORKS OF JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

Our new Consul General, Dr. Alagappan informs us that he is finding some difficulty in going to Jogjakarta. I hope he will reach there soon and I hope that you will find him worthy of your trust and confidence.³ I am very glad that Yunus is there as a symbol of our affection and comradeship with the Indonesian people.

I have not yet received the *Wayang*⁴ set which you have been good enough to send. I am greatly looking forward to it.

With all my affection and good wishes,

Yours very sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

3. Since his departure from Madras for Indonesia on 5 November 1948, S.C. Alagappan was confined to Jakarta until 7 December when the Committee's headquarters was moved from Jakarta to Kaliurang. Alagappan called on Soekarno the same day and conveyed Nehru's message.
4. Traditional shadow play or puppet theatre of Indonesia, extant in Java, Bali and Malaysia, whose texts are based on the *Ramayana* and *Mahabharata* or on Malaysian or Indonesian themes. A *wayang* set consists of two hundred puppet figures, made of leather, wood or cotton, to play the entire repertoire of various shadow plays.

7. To C.R. Attlee¹

New Delhi
25 November 1948

My dear Prime Minister,

Thank you for your letter of the 11th November about the situation in Indonesia. I am sorry for the delay in acknowledging it.

I am grateful to you and your Government for the steps they have taken to impress upon the Dutch Government the dangers of any military or police action that they might take in Indonesia. I have no doubt that any such action would not only destroy the last chance of reaching a settlement by agreement but would let loose such a volume of bitterness and hatred in South East Asia against not only Netherlands, but also other Western Powers that I shudder to contemplate. Probably the Indonesians will take to guerilla warfare and scorched-earth tactics. They will destroy their own resources and their land so that the Dutch might not profit by them. There will be killing on both sides of individuals and the passions aroused will not be allayed for a very long time. Undoubtedly the situation would give a chance to the Communists there to play a more important role as defenders of Indonesian freedom.

1. J.N. Papers, N.M.M.L.

I earnestly hope that all this will not happen and the Dutch Government will not force matters to such a pass. If it does so, then one thing is certain that sooner or later the last Dutchman will have to leave Indonesia.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

8. Cable to A. Soekarno¹

Have been anxiously following developments in Indonesia. Suggest to you not to be misled by Dutch threats. While it is not possible to guarantee anything, it is not easy for Dutch to start military action in view of grave warnings by United Kingdom and American Governments who are now most interested in preventing this in view of deteriorating situation in China² and other reasons. In any event we strongly recommend your insisting on continuation of U.N. Good Offices Committee and Republican Army. It would be worthwhile for your Government to address separately principal powers explaining present position and Dutch breaches of agreements and their refusal to accept American proposals.³

1. New Delhi, 29 November 1948. J.N. Collection. The same cable was sent to Mohammad Hatta and Sultan Shahrir.
2. Since 27 November there were extensive Communist gunfire in Pengpu, when the Chinese Government troops pulled back 25 miles from the rail centre of Kucheng and most organs of the Kuomintang Government had begun evacuation from Nanking and Shanghai. The Communists under General Chen Yi were preparing for a final assault on Nanking.
3. In a purely formal sense the Republic on September 20 and the Netherlands on October 14, had accepted Cochran's proposals as "a basis upon which to resume negotiations." These proposals were more satisfying to the Dutch as under these proposals elections would follow and not precede the formation of an interim government and the preliminary conditions demanded, which were particularly heavy from the Netherlands side, were such as to make negotiations out of the question.

9. Cable to P.J. Noel-Baker¹

Your telegram No. H. 467 dated 27th November.² Indonesia. We regret to note that in spite of every effort Dutch attitude towards Indonesian Republic has undergone no material change. Indonesian Republic has gone far to accommodate itself to many Dutch proposals.³ Dutch insistence now on complete break up of Republican Army and in regard to supreme command of Federal Armed Forces simply means abject surrender on part of Republic without any real trace of Republican Government left. We further understand that Dutch are insisting that U.N. Good Offices Commission should cease to function.⁴ All this indicates an attitude on part of Dutch Government to crush Republic and impose military and colonial rule. We cannot advise Indonesian Government to accept this demand for this would mean ending of all that Indonesian nationalism has stood for and would inevitably lead to strengthening of communist elements. We realise that present Dutch attitude may lead to military action. If that happens Republic may cease to exist but ideal of Republic will remain and will be fought for to bitter end.

We earnestly hope that His Majesty's Government will use their good offices to induce the Dutch rather than the Republicans to modify their attitude and to approach Indonesian question with greater sense of reality.

1. New Delhi, 30 November 1948. File No. 136-FEA/48, Part. III, M.E.A. and C.R., N.A.I.
2. Noel-Baker, the British Secretary for Commonwealth Relations, informed Nehru that the Dutch were against any policy "envisaging the embodiment of the Republican army" as a whole or in units in the Federal Army nor were they prepared to yield on the issue of supreme command of the forces. The Dutch requested that the U.K. Government persuade the Republic to compromise on these points.
3. The Republic was willing to agree to the recognition of formal Dutch sovereignty during the period of interim government and to incorporate both its armed forces and its diplomatic relations into the projected federal organization under control of the interim federal Indonesian government.
4. In fact, the Dutch doubted the impartiality of Committee of Good Offices. Van Mook even told a *Straits Times* correspondent that the U.N. was one of the chief impediments to the formation of a well-organised Indonesia.

10. Cable to Indian Envoys in United States and Britain¹

At our request you have frequently informed the U.S. and H.M.G. of our concern over the developments in Indonesia. These developments have been considered somewhat in isolation as a matter between the Republic of Indonesia and the Netherlands Government. In view, however, of recent events not only in Indonesia but in China² and other parts of South East Asia, the Prime Minister thinks that you should convey the views and apprehensions of the Government of India to the State Department/H.M.G. in somewhat the following terms.

Begins : The Government of India are deeply concerned over the breakdown of the negotiations³ for a political settlement in Indonesia. Apart from the immediate issues involved, they view it in the larger context of developments in China and all over South East Asia. There can be little doubt that the whole of this vast region will be powerfully affected not only by the failure of these negotiations and what might follow but also by the attitude taken up by the Netherlands Government. Their refusal to recognise the urgency of granting national freedom to the Indonesian people and their desire to continue in some form or other, both political and economic domination of Indonesia raises a vital question for the whole of Asia.

Not only the Netherlands' Government but also the French Government have been engaged in conflict with national aspirations in South East Asia. Both these Governments are associated with the Western Union⁴ in Europe

1. New Delhi, 15 December 1948. J.N. Collection.
2. In China fierce fighting to decide the fate of Nanking and Kuomintang Government's central port on the Yangtse river continued near Pengpu. There was panic and chaos. Europeans were evacuated from China by ships requisitioned through the International Refugee Organisation.
3. The Dutch announced on 11 December 1948 that negotiations under the aegis of the Committee were futile. On 13 December Hatta sought Cochran's help in reopening negotiations and put forward a number of proposals. In these proposals Hatta conceded that the Netherlands High Representative of the Crown would have a veto power over acts of the interior federal government and was prepared to grant emergency powers to the High Representative in a state of war, siege or insecurity. He even gave the High Representative the right to decide when extraordinary powers were to be exercised, and only requested that 'certain standards be laid down to govern the High Representative's decisions' in his exercise of emergency or veto power.
4. In 1948, Britain, France, Belgium, the Netherlands and Luxembourg entered into a treaty for furtherance of economic, military and cultural cooperation among West European countries. This move was strongly supported by the U.S.A.

which is being helped in many ways by other powers. This help provided under the Marshall Plan⁵ or in other ways thus seems to be utilised for purposes of opposing movements for national freedom in South East Asia and in attempts to maintain colonial domination. Intense popular feelings roused against the Netherlands Government in Indonesia and elsewhere as well as the French Government in Indo-China have thus a tendency to become hostile to the concept of Western Union and the Marshall Aid Plan.⁶ This is most regrettable.

We recognise that the U.S./U.K. Government have strongly advised the Netherlands Government to desist from taking military action. We appreciate this, but it is clear that this advice and our negative attitude has not produced much result and the friendly feelings existing in South East Asia for the U.S./U.K. Governments are being affected. It will be remembered that even the proposals of the Good Offices Committee were not accepted by the Netherlands Government.

The issue is no longer one of coming to a compromise about some relatively minor matter but the more basic one of colonial powers agreeing to the grant of national freedom without any reservation whatever. Once this is done, it will not be difficult to determine the nature of the association which would exist between these territories and countries with whom they have had long connections. The U.S.A. and U.K. are in the best position to judge how this can be done. If this is not done and the situation deteriorates still further, there will be far-reaching consequences not merely in South East Asia but elsewhere. Anti-social forces which are already on the march will be let loose and the precarious balance existing in the world today will be affected. The Government of India view this prospect with considerable concern and we, therefore, earnestly urge that action as indicated in this telegram should be taken before the situation gets altogether out of control.⁷

5. The European Recovery Programme or Marshall Aid Plan, was a joint effort by the U.S.A. and several West European countries to foster European economic recovery after the Second World War. It was proposed by George C. Marshall, the U.S. Secretary of State, in June 1947 and implemented in 1948.
6. On 22 December, the U.S.A. suspended further transfers of aid funds to the Netherlands which were intended for expenditure in Indonesia, while the pressure of Congress was mounting for the suspension of all economic aid to the Netherlands.
7. The Dutch, in reply to Hatta's note on 17 December, demanded that the Republic should agree to accept the same status as other puppet territories in the contemplated federation, to grant unlimited powers to the Netherlands High Representative, and allow the troops to move anywhere in the country. The Dutch reply demanded a quick answer from the Republic—within eighteen hours. The Republic naturally could not satisfy this ultimatum. The Dutch had sent the reply to Cochran who could not but admit that the position, and the obligations it implied, did not entitle him to "press Hatta to reply summarily to the conditions imposed by your telegram because it calls for a non-negotiated blanket assent which would preclude the possibility of *bona fide* negotiations rather than effect their resumption."

11. Imperialism has to End¹

It is good that the Congress today passed a resolution on Indonesia.² I have a message about certain developments in Indonesia. The question of Indonesia became intricate in the past few months and has now become very delicate and difficult. The Dutch Government attacked the Republicans and have captured Jogjakarta.³ We knew that if the Dutch attacked they would be able to capture the Republican capital as the Indonesians have no adequate forces at their disposal against the overwhelming might of the Dutch. The action has been started by the Dutch, but I may warn them that they will not be able to achieve their object. This action does not mean that the Republicans have been defeated.

You have seen that in the past four years small imperialist countries have been withdrawing themselves from Asia and the conditions in these countries have improved ever since. The days of imperialism are over, because no imperialist power can stay in Asia. There were a few countries where small clashes have also occurred, while from other areas the imperialist powers have been withdrawing.

Due to our efforts in the U.N., the fight in Indonesia was stopped and suspended for 11 months. I may emphasize that no one can prevent the tide of independence in Asian countries. The police action of the Dutch will have serious repercussions in India, in Asia and perhaps in some other countries too. Though we cannot give the Indonesian Republic effective aid now, we cannot remain idle spectators. We cannot approve of the Dutch action. Their action is contrary to all principles of the United Nations Charter. Whatever happens, we will keep our ideal before us.

Our foreign policy is that no foreign power should rule over any Asiatic country. The reaction to the Dutch action will be heard soon all over the Asiatic countries and we will have to consider what we will have to do under the circumstances.

1. Address at the plenary session of the Indian National Congress, Jaipur, 19 December 1948. Based on report from *The Hindustan Times* and *National Herald*, 20 December 1948.
2. See the next item.
3. On 18 December 1948, the Dutch, breaking the eleven-month old Renville Truce Agreement, launched their second military campaign and captured Jogjakarta. The Dutch did not let the Republican Government know their fateful decision till they bombed Jogjakarta airfield on 19 December 1948.

On the home front, Kashmir has been one of the most difficult problems we have had to face. Tomorrow I am leaving for Delhi where I will hold discussions on this question with two members of the U.N. Commission who have already arrived in the capital. It is good that the Congress has not passed any resolution on Kashmir. It is an intricate problem involving the happiness and future of a beautiful land, which cannot be solved by passing resolutions.

Before concluding, may I congratulate the members of the Reception Committee, particularly Mr. Gokulbhai Bhatt and Mr. Hiralal Shastri, President and Secretary respectively, on the wonderful arrangements made and the four-day deliberations of the Congress has ended on a happy note. However, in future, the Congress session should not be held in the way the present session has been held. This sort of *mela* spirit⁴ must end and the delegates should meet in an atmosphere in which they could consider important questions placed before them in all their aspects and properly vote on them. The manner in which the next Congress session should be organized can be considered later.

I request the delegates after they have returned home to review the many responsibilities that have now to be shouldered by them after the attainment of freedom. I regret the attitude adopted by some people who think that they should relax now that freedom had been achieved. Some of them are even indulging in internal strifes and strikes. But the situation demanded that all should unite and face the problems now before the country. That was the only way to solve them successfully and march on the road to progress and prosperity. I urge the delegates to this session to carry forward the spirit of the resolution as embodied and laid down in 'The Message'.⁵

4. For instance on the night of 18 December when Nehru wanted the plenary session to start off as the brief purpose for which the Subjects Committee had been called had already ended, some members protested that their colleagues had gone sightseeing. Nehru felt disturbed at this wastage of time.
5. The Message reminded the country that it owed its independence to the observance of Gandhian ideals and methods, and called upon the country to pledge allegiance again to these ideals. See *ante*, section 1, sub-section I, item 7.

12. Greetings to Indonesian Republic¹

The Congress sends its greetings to the leaders and people of the Indonesian Republic who have struggled for their freedom against great² difficulties during the past three years. It assures them of its complete sympathy for their cause. The people of Indonesia have been culturally associated with the India for ages past and it is a matter of the utmost concern to India that Indonesia should attain her full freedom and take her rightful part in Asian and international affairs.

1. Resolution drafted by Nehru and passed at Jaipur Congress, 19 December 1948. J.N. Collection.
2. The word "great" in the second line was not included in the resolution as finally passed.

11

FOREIGN POLICY

V. Sri Lanka

1. Admission of Sri Lanka to the U.N.¹

Mr. Nehru said that he was in agreement with Mr. Bevin and Dr. Evatt.² Any proposal to amend the Charter would raise very grave issues indeed; there would be no advantage to Ceylon in raising these on her application.³

1. Minutes of the eighth meeting of the Commonwealth Prime Ministers, London, 18 October 1948. J.N. Papers, N.M.M.L. Extract.
2. Ernest Bevin felt that the Argentine draft resolution on admission of new members was inconsistent with the U.N. Charter and would not solve the difficulty created by Soviet veto in the Security Council against admission of Sri Lanka and it was "most undesirable" to invite a major conflict on the veto issue. H.V. Evatt agreed but added that the General Assembly be requested to pass a resolution asking the Security Council to reconsider their decision.
3. Sri Lanka became a member of the U.N. only in December 1955.

2. Cable to D.S. Senanayake¹

Please refer to my letter No. 1392-PM of October 4² on the subject of citizenship for Indians resident in Ceylon. I have not yet received a reply to this letter, but I understand that you will shortly be introducing a bill on the subject in the Ceylon Parliament. I think it important that there should be no misapprehension about our respective viewpoints on this important issue and I would therefore like to state that my Government consider the suggestions contained in my letter of July 17, 1948, as essential.³ This is the minimum which, in our view, would be fair to Indians who are now resident in your country. The Government of India cannot regard as satisfactory any attempted resolution of the problem which would not only make it more difficult for Indians to acquire Ceylon citizenship but would also enable the Ceylon Government to discriminate against citizens of Indian origin.

During our discussions last December I gathered the impression that all citizens, whatever their origin, would be treated on a footing of absolute

1. New Delhi, 13 November 1948. File No. 69-1/47-OS-II, M.E.A. & C.R., N.A.I.
2. See *Selected Works* (Second Series), Vol. 7, p. 647.
3. See *Selected Works* (Second Series), Vol. 7, pp. 634-642.

equality. This impression continued till I saw the draft Ceylon Citizenship Bill which you were good enough to refer to us. A bill based on this draft, and even taking into consideration certain subsequent modifications to which you have agreed, is bound to cause great disappointment in India as well as in the Indian community in Ceylon. In the interest of the friendly relations which happily have existed between our two countries, I would like to express the earnest hope that nothing should be done which affects them and causes resentment. I am sure that your Government is as anxious as we are to promote goodwill and cooperation between Ceylon and India for their mutual advantage. I trust therefore that your Government will give effect to the suggestions we have made.

As this subject has naturally aroused a great deal of interest both in Ceylon and India and there is some misapprehension in people's minds, I think it will be desirable for the correspondence that has passed between you and me on this subject to be released to the press. In an immediately following telegram I am giving a list of the correspondence which we think might be published. I shall be grateful to have your early consent to this publication which might be simultaneous in India and Ceylon.

3. Cable to D.S. Senanayake¹

Please refer to your telegram No. 51 of November 13 on the subject of citizenship for Indians resident in Ceylon. This telegram must have crossed my telegram Nos. Primin-1715 and 1313C of November 13² on the same subject. I fully agree to the publication of the correspondence which has passed between us. The list which we suggest might be published has been given in my telegram No. 1313C, but we have no objection to adding to the list the agreed summary of the discussions between us at New Delhi last December. We think that the correspondence should be published a few days before the publication of your Bill and suggest November 27 as a suitable date.

1. New Delhi, 17 November 1948. File No. 69-1/47- OS-II, M.E.A. & C.R., N.A.I.
2. See the preceding item.

11

FOREIGN POLICY

VI. Burma

1. To Vallabhbhai Patel¹

London

13 October 1948

My dear Vallabhbhai,

Thank you for your letter of 6 October sending me a copy of an article in *The Statesman* about Burma.² There is no doubt that the situation in Burma is a very grave one.³ We are getting in External Affairs frequent reports from our ambassador there;⁴ often they give much more information than the newspapers. It is because the situation is bad that it is difficult to refer to it in public. You know the old adage 'the greater the truth, the greater the libel.'

I do not myself think that any considerable number of persons will infiltrate into Assam and Manipur from Burma. Communists and others in Burma have their hands full dealing with the situation there. The revolt in Burma is a very mixed affair in which the Communists have taken the lead, but many other people and groups, chiefly Karen supporters, are participating. Of course, when there is chaos on the border, adventurous elements are likely to cross over and all precautions should be taken.

If Burma goes to pieces, this will undoubtedly have a serious effect on India. Not so much because it will be made the base for operations in India but because our trade and people there will suffer.

Our conference and conversations are proceeding here. There is much to tell you but it can wait. I am going to Paris the day after tomorrow for the weekend.

I have had bad reports about the Kashmir Commission in Geneva. I do not know how far these reports are true. I shall find out in Paris.

I wrote to you in my last letter about Jaipur House. Mountbatten is terribly keen about this House being sold to the British Government. He has again spoken to me about it. I enclose copy of a letter which Mountbatten has sent to the Commonwealth Relations Office.⁵

The Mountbattens are going to Malta on the 26th of this month.

Yours,

Jawaharlal

1. J.N. Collection.
2. A series of articles entitled 'Revolt and Turmoil in Burma' appeared in *The Statesman* of 30 September and 1, 4 and 6 October 1948.
3. Burma was faced with political instability following the revolt by the Communists after their break with the Anti-Fascist Peoples' Freedom League. The Communists were joined by a section of the Peoples' Volunteer Organisation, a private militia formed in 1945. The Karens, living in a frontier area also joined to press their demand for an independent Karen State.
4. M.A. Rauf.
5. In his letter of 13 October 1948, Lord Mountbatten had conveyed the Indian Government's objection to the sale of Princes' houses to any party without their permission and to any direct payment in sterling to Indians.

2. Cable to M.A. Rauf¹

We have discussed the situation arising out of the enactment of Land Nationalisation Act in Burma² with representatives of Indian Associations whose members have interests in Burma and the Premier and Finance Minister, Madras Government, and would like you to communicate with the Burma Government on the following lines :—

2. Government of India are greatly perturbed at the effect which the Burma Land Nationalisation Act will have on the economy of South India. The landholders will lose practically their entire assets in Burma, and will be unable to meet their liabilities to banks and depositors who have advanced money to them on such assets.³ In consequence, a large number of bankers and depositors will get involved in a financial crisis. The Government of India hope that having regard to the serious repercussions of any such situation on Indian economy, the Burma Government will be prepared to reconsider some of the provisions of the measure. They propose to send a delegation from India led if possible by the President-elect of the Indian National Congress to open discussion with Burma Government with a view to arriving at an amicable settlement of this vexed problem and thus to avoid growth of ill-will between the two countries. It is hoped that the Burma Government will agree to receive the delegation. The Prime Minister of India desire that on his behalf it be conveyed to Thakin Nu and his colleagues that they would please take a personal interest in the solution of this difficulty. The Government of India fully appreciate the difficulties which the Burma Government have had to face during the last few months. They have done their best to give the Burma Government every possible assistance. They will continue to do so, but any such action as is contemplated in the Act will necessarily lead to friction between the Governments and the peoples of the two countries, which should be avoided in view of the grave problems both the countries have to face jointly.

3. For your personal information we propose to instruct our delegation to press for amendment of the Act on the following lines :—

1. New Delhi, 10 November 1948. File No. 9-6/48-OS-II, M.E.A. & C.R., N.A.I.
2. Enacted on 11 October 1948.
3. At that time Indian landholders owned about three million acres of land in Burma valued at about Rs. nine hundred million. India suggested provision for a higher rate of compensation payable in India through negotiable bonds.

- (i) Compensation should be based on the net income from land and not related to multiples of land revenue. If, however, the Burma Government would not agree to this, they should at least agree to adopt different multiples of revenue, a lower multiple for districts settled after 1910-15 and a higher multiple for districts settled prior to 1910-15. The multiple in either case should be much higher than 12.
- (ii) Section 7 of the present Act should be deleted, as it would be inequitable to whittle down compensation with reference to the past history of ownership.
- (iii) Compensation should be payable in negotiable bonds. Government of India are examining the financial implication of such a request.
- (iv) Government of Burma should be induced to permit assets to be brought out of Burma by Government emigrants and to permit export of interest in any case.

4. Some other points were raised which we will communicate to you by post. While these points need not be communicated to the Burma Government, there will be no objection to such use being made of them as you deem necessary for paving the way for the delegation. Please let us know as early as possible. Burma Government's reply to our proposal to send a delegation from India.

3. To Thakin Nu¹

New Delhi
November 30, 1948

My dear Thakin Nu,

I thank you very much for your letter of November 26 which U Win was good enough to bring with him. I had a general discussion with U Win about the Land Nationalisation Act and other matters and yesterday he had further discussions with Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramayya, President-elect of the Indian National Congress and Shri B. Gopala Reddi,² Finance Minister, Madras

1. File No.9-6/48-OS II, Part II, M.E.A. & C.R., N.A.I.
2. (b. 1907); M.L.A., Madras, 1937-46; Minister for Local Administration, Government of Madras, 1937-39; Minister for Finance etc., 1948; Chief Minister, Andhra Pradesh, 1955-56; Home Minister, 1956, Finance Minister, 1957; Member, Rajya Sabha, 1958-60, Lok Sabha, 1962-67; Minister of Revenue and Civil Expenditure, Government of India, 1958-61 and for Works, Housing and Supply, 1961-62, Information and Broadcasting, 1962-63; Deputy Leader, Congress Parliamentary Party, 1965-67; Governor of U.P., May 1967-April 1973.

SELECTED WORKS OF JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

Government. I understand that they have had a preliminary exchange of views, but, naturally, neither side was prepared at this stage for discussion of details. I have no doubt that this preliminary discussion will pave the way for a more detailed discussion at a later stage. I am happy to know that a delegation from us will be welcome to your Government. I am hoping that our delegation will arrive in Burma during the last week of December,³ and we shall let your Government know in advance the personnel of the delegation and the exact time of its arrival at Rangoon.

I have very pleasant memories of your last visit to Delhi⁴ and I wish we could meet again here or in Burma. For the present we are both very much occupied with problems of grave moment, but I hope that an opportunity to meet will offer itself before very long.

With all good wishes,

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

3. The departure of the Indian delegation to Burma was postponed to the last week of January 1949.
4. Thakin Nu, Prime Minister of Burma had visited New Delhi in the first week of December 1947.

11

FOREIGN POLICY
VII. Ireland

1. Cable to V.K. Krishna Menon¹

We have received copies of statements proposed to be made by Eire and U.K. Governments regarding position created in Ireland by new Act. We propose to make some statement here also in line with these.²

We are considering Attlee's memoranda carefully here. Position delicate. Rau³ busy with Constituent Assembly. Apart from this his visit to England at this stage will be gravely misunderstood and explanations will be demanded which cannot easily be given. I cannot myself see why legal technicalities should come in our way. Undoubtedly new developments have not made matters easy here.

1. New Delhi, 24 November 1948. J.N. Papers, N.M.M.L.
2. See *post*, item 4.
3. B.N. Rau.

2. Cable to Sean Mac Bríde¹

I am grateful to you for sending me textual extracts from speech made by Mr. Costello² on second reading of Republic of Ireland Bill.³

United Kingdom Government have sent us draft of statement they propose to make today in the House of Commons.⁴

1. New Delhi, 25 November 1948, J.N. Papers, N.M.M.L.
Sean Macbride (b. 1904); Member of Dail Eirean, 1947-58; Minister for External Affairs, Ireland, 1948-51; Vice President, Organization for European Economic Cooperation, 1948-51; President, Council of Foreign Ministers of Europe, 1950; Assistant Secretary-General, United Nations, and United Nations Commissioner for Namibia, 1973-77; Nobel Peace Prize, 1974.
2. John Aloysius Costello (1891-1976); Assistant to Attorney-General, 1922-26; Attorney-General, 1926-32; Prime Minister, 1948-51 and Minister for Health, 1951; Leader of Opposition in Dail, 1951-54; Prime Minister, 1954-57; Leader of Opposition, 1957-59.
3. Costello had stated that the repeal of the External Relations Act would not mean that the Commonwealth countries would be regarded as foreign nations. These countries would be granted citizenship rights in Ireland in return for reciprocal rights for Irish citizens.
4. While regretting Ireland's decision to quit the Commonwealth, the statement said that Britain would not regard Ireland as a foreign country.

I propose to refer to these new developments in our Parliament tomorrow morning reading out extracts from Mr. Costello's speech and from the U.K. statement and associating Government of India with the desire to continue existing arrangements with Eire on a reciprocal basis.⁵ We earnestly hope that as in the past there will be close and cordial relationship between the Governments and peoples of Eire and India.

5. See *post*, item 4.

3. Cable to V.K. Krishna Menon¹

Your telegram No. 2596 dated November 25th 1948.

Text of statement about Eire made by me in Constituent Assembly this morning² being sent to you separately.

We are considering lawyers, memorandum sent by Attlee.³ It will take some days before we can send reply. Meanwhile it is desirable for you to have informal talks with Cripps, Jowett⁴ and others. Our own legal luminaries finding fault with my memorandum sent to Attlee.⁵ All these points were surely considered at Conference between you, Rau, Cripps, Jowett and others and it is surprising that they should raise same objections over again.

I hope that we may make agreement at this end on basis of my memorandum subject to minor verbal alterations such as description of King as Fountain of Honour. Any reference to external authority in our Constitution will be objected to. Even nationality provisions will have to be in separate act.

In view of United Kingdom and Commonwealth attitude to Eire it seems that our position is much stronger.

About Kashmir position repeated threats by Zafrullah of aggressive military action on large scale create new difficulties. Zafrullah might be informed by United Kingdom Government that this attitude will lead to grave consequences and certainly British officers should not participate in this business.

1. New Delhi, 26 November 1948. V.K. Krishna Menon Papers, N.M.M.L.

2. See the next item.

3. For lawyers' memorandum of 22 November see *ante*, section 10, item 13.

4. William Allen Jowett; British Labour politician and lawyer; Lord Chancellor, 1945-51.

5. For Nehru's memorandum see *ante*, section 10, item 6.

4. Closer Ties with Ireland¹

Mr. Vice-President,² Sir,

The House is aware that certain developments have taken place recently in Eire which affect the relationship of Eire with other Commonwealth countries. On the 17th of November the Eire Act, entitled the Republic of Ireland Act, was given a first reading in the Dail.³ The second reading took place on the 24th of November.⁴

In view of the close relationship that has existed between Eire and the other Commonwealth countries, it was considered desirable to clarify the position that would result from the passage of this Bill. The Government of India have been in communication on this subject with the Government of the United Kingdom and the Government of Eire and both these Governments have been good enough to inform us of the position, as they view it, that will arise after the passage of the Republic of Ireland Act. They have sent us the texts of the speeches made in their respective parliaments on this subject.

As the passage of this Act might affect Indian citizens in Eire and Eire citizens in India, the Government of India is naturally interested in a clarification of this subject.

In the course of the speech made by Mr. Costello, the Prime Minister of Eire, on the second reading of the Republic of Ireland Bill on the 24th November in the Dail, he said:

"In the new Bill provisions will be made to ensure that Commonwealth citizens shall be afforded comparable rights to those afforded to our citizens in the British Commonwealth. There is one thing I should like to make clear to our friends in Britain and in the Commonwealth generally; it is that after the passage of this Bill we will continue, provided they so desire, the exchange of citizenship rights and privileges. Ireland does not know, and when the

1. Statement on Eire Act in the Constituent Assembly of India, 26 November 1948. *Constituent Assembly of India Debates, Official Report*, Vol. VII, 4 November 1948 to 8 January 1949, pp. 613-615. Also available in J.N. Papers, N.M.M.L.
2. H.C. Mookherjee was in the Chair.
3. Dail is the popular representative body of the national parliament, whose members are elected by universal adult suffrage and the executive as represented by the Prime Minister, is responsible to the Dail. Senate, the second chamber, has very limited powers.
4. The Republic of Ireland Bill, which severed Eire's last links with the British Crown, was signed by President Sean O'Kelly in Dublin on 21 December 1948. The Act became operative on 18 April 1949—Easter Monday.

External Relations Act is repealed, Ireland does not intend to regard their citizens as foreigners or their countries as foreign countries. Throughout, the position of the Irish Government is, that while Ireland is not a member of the British Commonwealth of Nations, it recognises and confirms the existence of a specially close relationship arising not only from ties of friendship and kinship but from traditional and long established economic, social and trade relations based on common interests with the nations that form the British Commonwealth. This exchange of rights and privileges, which it is our firm desire and intention to maintain and strengthen, in our view constitutes a special relationship which negatives the view that other countries could raise valid objections on the grounds that Ireland should be treated as a foreign country by Britain and the Commonwealth countries for the purpose of this exchange of rights and privileges. These are the considerations which we put forward to Britain and the Commonwealth countries. We find that they, on their part, were equally determined not to regard the passage of this Bill as placing Ireland in the category foreign countries or our citizens in the category of foreigners, but were prepared to continue the exchange of citizenship and trade preference rights. Accordingly, the factual exchange of rights that has existed hitherto will continue unimpaired. By reason of the fact that we have eliminated from this exchange controversial forms, we may reasonably hope that a greater spirit of goodwill and cooperation will actuate this factual relationship."

On the part of the United Kingdom, Mr. Attlee, the Prime Minister, made the following statement in the House of Commons yesterday, the 25th November 1948 :

"In 1937 a new Constitution was enacted in Eire in which the Crown played no part. The Eire Executive Authority (External Relations) Pact which was passed in 1936 however authorised His Majesty the King to act on behalf of Eire in certain matters within the field of external affairs as and when advised by the Eire Executive Council to do so. In December 1937 the U.K. Government stated, after consultation with the Governments of Canada, Australia, New Zealand and South Africa, that they like those Governments were prepared to treat the new Constitution as not effecting a fundamental alteration in the position of Eire as a member of the Commonwealth.

On the 7th September last the Prime Minister of Eire, Mr. Costello, announced that the Eire Government were preparing to repeal the External Relations Act. Subsequently Mr. Costello confirmed this intention."

Mr. Attlee then refers to various discussions with the Eire Ministers in

roder to explore the consequences which would flow from the legislation proposed in Eire.

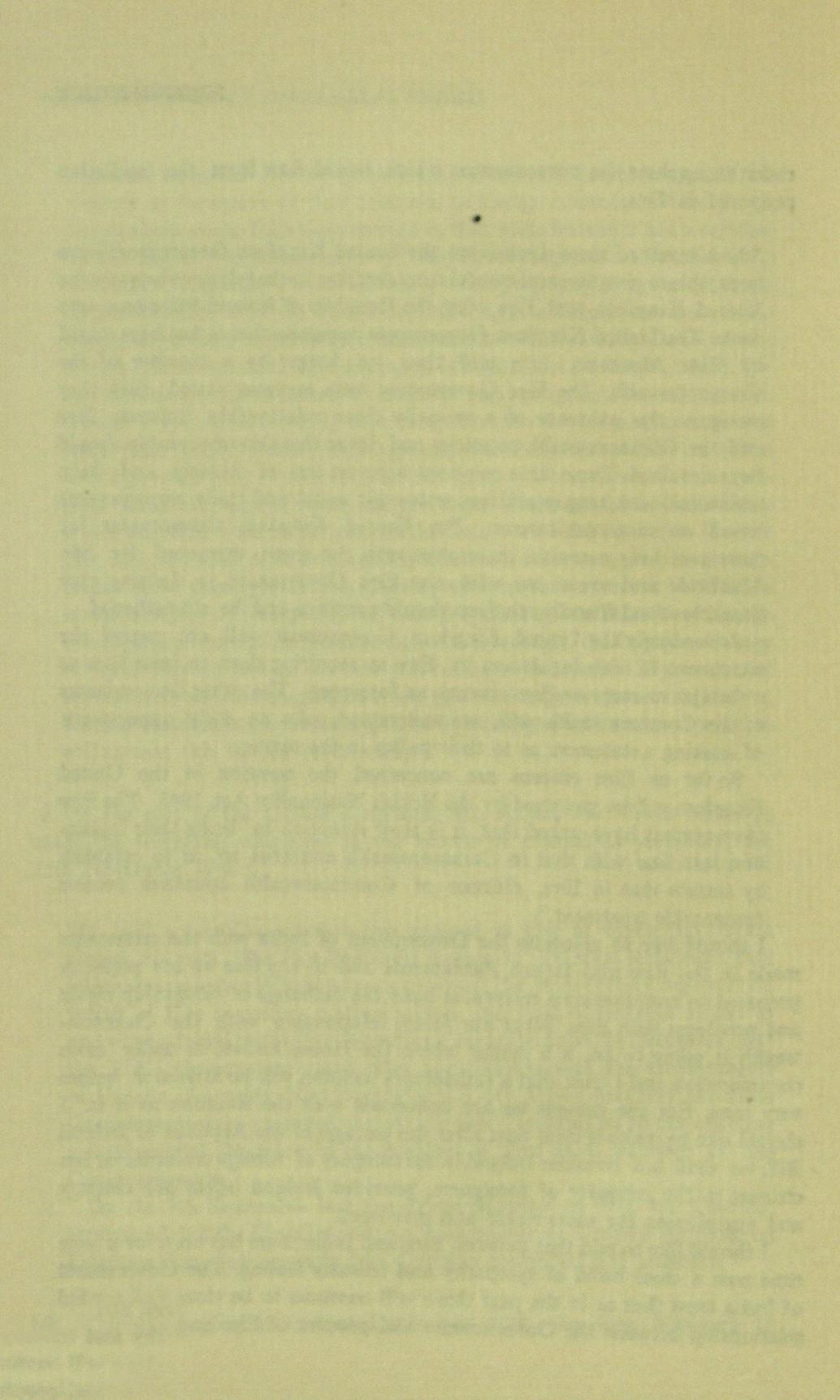
"As a result of these discussions the United Kingdom Government have been able to give the most careful consideration to the relations between the United Kingdom and Eire when the Republic of Ireland Bill comes into force. The United Kingdom Government recognise that as has been stated by Eire Ministers, Eire will then no longer be a member of the Commonwealth. The Eire Government have however stated that they recognise the existence of a specially close relationship between Eire and the Commonwealth countries and desire that this relationship should be maintained. These close relations arise on ties of kinship and from traditional and long established economic social and trade arrangements based on common interest. The United Kingdom Government for their part fully associate themselves with the views expressed by Mr. MacBride and are at one with the Eire Government in desiring that these close and friendly relations should continue and be strengthened.

Accordingly the United Kingdom Government will not regard the enactment of this legislation by Eire as requiring them to treat Eire as a foreign country or Eire citizens as foreigners. The other Governments of the Commonwealth will, we understand, take an early opportunity of making a statement as to their policy in the matter.

So far as Eire citizens are concerned the position in the United Kingdom will be governed by the British Nationality Act, 1948. The Eire Government have stated that it is their intention to bring their legislation into line with that in Commonwealth countries so as to establish by statute that in Eire, citizens of Commonwealth countries receive comparable treatment."

I should like to associate the Government of India with the statements made in the Eire and British Parliaments and to say that we are perfectly prepared to continue on a reciprocal basis the exchange of citizenship rights and privileges with Eire. What our future relationship with the Commonwealth is going to be, is a matter which the House knows, is under close consideration and I trust that a satisfactory solution will be arrived at before very long. For the present we are concerned with the situation as it is. I should like to make it clear that after the passage of the Republic of Ireland Bill, we shall not consider Ireland in the category of foreign countries or her citizens in the category of foreigners, provided Ireland offers our country and our citizens the same rights and privileges.

I should like to add that between Eire and India there has been for a long time past a close bond of sympathy and friendly feeling. The Government of India trust that as in the past there will continue to be close and cordial relationship between the Governments and peoples of Eire and India.



11

FOREIGN POLICY
VIII. Other Countries

1. Greetings to Czechoslovakia¹

It gives me great pleasure to convey to you and, through you, to the Government and people of Czechoslovakia the warm greetings of the Government and people of India on the 30th anniversary of the Republic of Czechoslovakia. With the bonds of friendship, recently strengthened by the establishment of direct diplomatic relations, India looks forward to fuller cooperation with your country in all spheres of activity and in the promotion of world peace.

1. Message to M. Jaroslav Sejnoha, Ambassador of the Republic of Czechoslovakia in India, 28 October 1948. From *Indian News Chronicle*, 28 October 1948.

2. Cable to Vallabhbhai Patel¹

In London Foreign Secretary Bevin made special appeal to Prime Ministers for help towards relief of Arab refugees from Palestine. Six lakhs refugees involved. Many in desperate plight. Estimated expenditure 30 million dollars during next nine months. I informed him of our position and what we had already done.

2. This subject now being discussed by United Nations who have appointed Special Committee on which India represented. Proposed that nations should contribute *pro rata* according to their contributions to United Nations. Arab representatives have made special appeal to India for help. Obviously we cannot contribute at rate mentioned but I feel we shall have to make some adequate contribution.

1. Paris, 31 October 1948. File No. 46(18) AWT/48, M.E.A. & C.R., N.A.I. A similar cable was sent to the Minister for Finance.

3. To Amrit Kaur¹

New Delhi

November 13, 1948

My dear Amrit,

Thank you for your letter of the 12th November about the aircraft which brought the Persian Princesses.

I do not understand why the first intimation of the arrival of the Persian aircraft was only received on the 9th November morning. So far as I know, intimation had come much earlier and in fact had been published in the press.

The rules have to be followed and should be followed regardless of personalities. But even rules have to be followed with some intelligence and not blindly. Any intelligent person should have realised that this matter was of high importance and some reference should be made to External Affairs and Government House before orders were issued. This was a chartered plane from Teheran which *prima facie* did not come from a yellow fever area and which contained delegates for the International Conferences being held here, two of whom were sisters² of the Shah of Persia and one a brother-in-law.³ They were all Government guests staying in Government House. It so happened that one of these Princesses was suffering badly from airsickness and was just looking forward to some relief on arrival at Delhi when the plane was turned back and had to fly for another four hours or so back to Karachi. This was a great ordeal and you can well appreciate how very irritating it must have been. It would have been far better to allow the plane to land here and if on enquiry something was found wrong, which was exceedingly unlikely, then to take other steps, even if this amounted to sending the plane back to Bombay or Karachi, preferably Bombay which is in India.

I can understand the plane being asked to stop or to go back to an Indian airport, but it seems odd that it should be made to go to a foreign airport.⁴ There should surely be some arrangement in Delhi for possible cases of this kind to be dealt with. Why should we force people to land at Karachi when they want to come directly to Delhi ?

1. J.N. Collection.

2. Ashraf Pahlavi and Fatima Pahlavi.

3. Ahmad Shafiq, Director General of Civil Aviation, Iran, was married to Ashraf Pahlavi.

4. On 9 November morning the chartered plane, left Zahidan (Iran) for New Delhi. Half an hour before landing it was signalled by Indian ground control to proceed to Karachi and obtain health clearance certificates before it could be allowed to land in India. The plane arrived at Palam airport on 10th morning.

This matter from the point of view of international relations is a very serious point. It affects our relations with Iran, and Pakistan has made much out of it. I have had a telegram from our High Commissioner at Karachi stating that great excitement prevails there over this matter. The Iranian Ambassador⁵ came and expressed his deep regret as India's friend over this incident.

What worries me is the fact that any such action should be taken by an official without reference to higher authority. No official, junior or senior, in a matter of this kind, has any business to come to a decision and issue orders without consulting others, in the present instance both Government House whose guests the Princesses were and External Affairs who were deeply involved. I must come to the conclusion that the person who was responsible for this was lacking in intelligence or was so much a slave to some routine as to be unable to realise how to get out of this rut. I hope you will please convey my opinion about this incident to the officers concerned.

Yours,
Jawaharlal

5. Ali Motamed.

4. Relief for Palestine Refugees¹

The Prime Minister read out to the Cabinet two telegrams received by him from the Leader of the Indian Delegation at the General Assembly of the United Nations Organisation at Paris, regarding contribution to the Palestine Refugee Relief Fund. About 700 thousand refugees, mostly Arabs, have to be provided with relief and their condition was reported to be desperate. General opinion in the General Assembly was that members of the United Nations Organisation should contribute the total amount required for rendering relief, in proportion to the contribution made by each member towards the expenses of the organisation. On this basis, the contribution of India to the Fund would come to about Rs. 33 lakhs. United Kingdom had already contributed a sum of one million pounds which was in excess of that country's proportionate share. Whilst the object for which money

1. Minutes of a Cabinet Meeting, 13 November 1948. File No. 193/CF/48, Cabinet Secretariat Papers.

was required was a desirable one and India would have liked to pay its share in such a desirable case, we had our own difficulties and obligations. We had over 60 lakhs of refugees to look after and more in increasing numbers were coming from East Bengal. Under the circumstances, it was not possible for India to pay such a big sum as Rs. 33 lakhs to the Fund. On the other hand, it was desirable to make some sort of token contribution. A sum of Rs. 100 thousand had already been paid and the Prime Minister suggested that Rs. 4 lakhs more to bring the total contribution of India to a figure of Rs. 5 lakhs.²

2. After discussions the Cabinet decided to contribute 100 thousand dollars to the Fund, inclusive of Rs. one lakh that had already been paid.

5. Haj Pilgrims¹

I do not think we can escape examining expenditure, as suggested, for the Haj pilgrims.² From the point of view of health, law and order and public convenience some expenditure is inevitable. In addition, it is the state's duty to give facilities to large bodies of pilgrims of any denomination. In the present set of circumstances it would be especially unfortunate to deny these facilities to Haj pilgrims. Of course there should be economy where possible but not to the extent of upsetting our existing arrangements.

I do not think we should undertake to build any *Musafirkhanas*.

The Haj pilgrimage is an ideal occasion for propaganda and publicity among Muslims of all nations gathered in Mecca. I think it is desirable for us to send two or three competent persons with the pilgrims or just before to undertake this work. This should be considered with external publicity.

1. Note to A.V. Pai, Principal Private Secretary, 16 November 1948. File No. 18-2/48/Haj/M.E.A. & C.R., N.A.I.
2. The Central Haj Committee had suggested an estimated annual expenditure of Rs. 59,000/- on Haj pilgrimage for 1949.

6. Cable to Joseph Stalin¹

I have been happy to receive Your Excellency's message² of greeting and thank you for it. May I send my good wishes to Your Excellency and your great country.³

1. New Delhi, 16 November 1948. J.N. Collection.
2. Stalin had, on 13 November, sent a telegram in Russian to Nehru, thus: "I beg you, Mr. Prime Minister, to accept my best wishes on the occasion of your birthday."
3. The original cable in Hindi was:

जनाबे वाला, आपका शुभ संदेश मुझको मिला और उससे मुझे खुशी हुई। उसके लिए आपको धन्यवाद देता हूँ। मैं आपको श्रीर आपके महान देश के लिए अपनी शुभकामनायें भेजता हूँ।

7. To Vijayalakshmi Pandit¹

New Delhi
November 17, 1948

Nan dear,

I have just received your letter of the 8th November.²

Syud,³ I agree with you, does not understand people at all. He spoke in some praise of King Farouk. I found Farouk to be one of the most repellent individuals I had met. All that I could do was not to be rude to him.

I met people from all the Arab countries in Cairo. Not one of them spoke about Kashmir or Hyderabad (Farouk was sarcastic about Hyderabad). This of course, did not mean that they were not interested in Kashmir or Hyderabad or not critical of us. All this simply meant that they were becoming increasingly conscious about India's position and strength.

I have been giving a great deal of thought to you, that is, whether you should go back to Moscow or not. I spoke to Girja about it. I entirely agree with you that it would be a bad thing for you to leave Moscow at present. I know that this will mean a great strain on you. But there appears to be

1. J.N. Papers, N.M.M.L.
2. Vijayalakshmi Pandit wrote that Nehru's visit and speech at the General Assembly of the U.N. in Paris, had been favourably received, well publicised by several countries and had "done an amazing amount of good." She added that her being shifted from Moscow to Washington at that time would antagonise Russia.
3. Syud Hossain was the Indian Ambassador in Egypt.

SELECTED WORKS OF JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

no other alternative. I shall have a discussion with Bajpai on his return and then we shall fix up your programme.

You must have seen that Stalin sent me a personal telegram of greeting on my birthday.⁴ This was indeed a surprise and it was rather unusual. Obviously it indicates a certain friendliness and I think we should take advantage of this. Stalin's telegram was in Russian. My reply was in Hindi.⁵

4&5. See the preceding item.

8. Closer Ties with Africans¹

This is very interesting.² Tell Pant³ that we are very glad he is cultivating these contacts with Africans. It is not clear what kind of cooperative business he suggests but it is obvious that Indian businessmen must cultivate the goodwill of the Africans and try to associate them with their work.

1. Note, 19 November 1948. File No. 20-20/48, OS-I, M.E.A. & C.R., N.A.I.
2. Apa Pant in his report on his tour of Kenya, Tanganyika and Uganda, stated that the leaders of these countries were keen that India accept more African students in her educational institutions; that Indian businessmen stop exploiting Africa and cooperate in building up the African economy; that India help in preventing "the situation, that has evolved in South Africa, developing in these countries." The leaders were anxious that India should help in this matter, failing which they may look to Russia.
3. Apasaheb Balasaheb Pant (b. 1912); Prime Minister of Aundh State, 1938-44, Minister, 1944-48; Indian Commissioner to British East Africa, 1948-54; Political Officer in Sikkim and Bhutan, 1955-61; Ambassador to Indonesia, 1961-64, Norway, 1964-66, U.A.R., 1966-69; High Commissioner to U.K., 1969-72, Ambassador to Italy, 1972-76.

9. Cable to Vijayalakshmi Pandit¹

Your telegram 199-D dated 20th November. I agree with you that attitude taken by Asian countries to the resolution on South West Africa creates a new situation.² I think we should make our position clear privately and separately to those concerned. Please tell them that I am distressed at developments. I am not so concerned about any particular vote on any issue. But there are some principles for which we stand and among these are end of colonialism and racial equality. Both these are of special importance to Asia. If Asian countries cannot unite even on these issues, then there is no common ground except pure opportunism on particular occasions. Asian unity or cooperation cannot be built up on opportunism and on rejection of these fundamental principles for which all Asia should stand. In the case of South West Africa both these questions are involved in a big degree and I deeply regret that any Asian country should have been luke-warm on such occasion.

Cuba's attitude after promoting resolution and then withdrawing it is particularly reprehensible.

In regard to Palestine I am in general agreement with line you suggest that is abstain from taking part in discussion or voting. In view of possible developments you should exercise your discretion.

As regards South African Indian issue we need not try to expedite it and if it does not come up during this session, we need not worry. If it does come, then we should take up the right attitude regardless of how many countries support us.

1. New Delhi, 23 November 1948. File No. 46/15)- AWT/48, M.E.A. & C.R., N.A.I.
2. Vijayalakshmi stated that lack of support to India by Asian countries like Afghanistan, Pakistan and the Arab states who abstained from voting on most or all issues, was very disappointing. She thought that Arab countries should be told that Indian support for them is "conditional on reciprocity." An Indian amendment on 19 November 1948 asked the U.N. Assembly to request the South African Government, that pending the conclusion of a trusteeship agreement and in order not to alter the rights of the inhabitants of South West Africa; (a) not to proceed with measures amounting to an integration of the territory with South Africa and (b) to agree to a commission appointed by the Trusteeship Council visiting the territory to observe and report on the political, economic, social and educational conditions there. These two proposals were rejected, respectively, by roll-call votes of 22 in favour to 23 against with 8 abstentions and by 21 in favour to 22 against with 11 abstentions.

10. Associations for Cultural Contacts¹

It seems to me that it would be desirable to have associations of the type suggested by Mr. Azim Hussain² and approved of by the Minister for Education.³ I think however that any such association must be basically non-official, or at any rate started by non-officials but with government help and association. Government should certainly give financial help. I do not think much money need be spent, at any rate to begin with. It would be desirable for such an association to build up a library and to have a magazine.

I agree that the present Indo-Iranian Cultural Committee could well be absorbed in the new association.

I am entirely opposed to any such association being called Indo-Islamic. I personally would have preferred national appellations, but perhaps that would narrow the field.

The new Ambassador from Egypt,⁴ who will be here soon, struck me as an ideal person for any such cultural organisation. He is a friend of India and knows Indian literature and philosophy fairly well.

I would have liked such an association for South East Asia, but the countries of South East Asia are diverse and difficult to group together for this purpose. I doubt if it would be possible to have an effective organisation for South East Asia at present. The point however might be considered further. The countries are Burma, Malaya, Siam, Indo-China and Indonesia.

1. Note, 24 November 1948, File No. 349 (PXP)/48, M.E.A. & C.R., N.A.I.
2. Azim Hussain stressed the need to establish more cultural associations in Delhi to promote cultural ties with West Asia. He suggested the replacement of the existing Indo-Iranian Cultural Committee by a new and more effective organisation.
3. M.A.K. Azad.
4. Ismail Kamal Bey (1891-1955); lawyer and diplomat; Ambassador to India, 1948-55.

11. Cable to Vijayalakshmi Pandit¹

We have appreciated greatly your fine speeches and handling of South-West Africa question and congratulate you. I am particularly glad that you kept

1. New Delhi, 28 November 1948. File No. 30-1/48-O.S-I, M.E.A., N.A.I.

the subject on a high level of principle and make it quite clear what India stands for.²

2. At a U.N. Trusteeship Committee meeting in Paris on 16 November 1948, Vijaya-lakshmi Pandit, refuting the charge of the South African delegate that India pursued a vendetta against his country, said, "....The only vendetta we pursue is against injustice in all forms wherever it exists and from that nothing can deter us. It is our earnest desire to work for friendship and cooperation with all nations, to broaden freedom,...and to establish peace with justice throughout the world. But we must raise our voice against policies and courses which are bound to produce friction and lead ultimately to conflict...." In another speech on 26 November, she declared: "There are some principles for which we of Asia stand. Of these, one is the ending of the colonial system, another, equality between peoples and nations..." She added that India's interest in South West Africa was "based on the principle that freedom, like peace, is indivisible, it was a symbol of faith in fundamental human rights and dignity of human person ...we cannot forget those who are unrepresented here but who, nevertheless, aspire to freedom."

12. Cable to Governor of West Bengal¹

Your telegram No. 146-S dated 28th November. Have consulted colleagues. We are unanimously of opinion that you should not send any telegram to General MacArthur.² He is mere mouthpiece of other Governments and has no discretion. Apart from this any such move on our part would associate us with Justice Pal's³ dissenting judgment in Tokyo trials. In this judgment wild and sweeping statements have been made with many of which we do not agree at all. In view of suspicion that Government of India had inspired Pal's judgment, we have had to inform Governments concerned informally that we are in no way responsible for it.

Any statement sent by you might well create great difficulties for us without doing much good to anyone else.

1. New Delhi, 29 November 1948. J.N. Collection.

2. General Douglas MacArthur.

3. Radha Binod Pal (1886-1967); Professor of Law, University Law College, Calcutta, 1923-36; Tagore Professor of Law, Calcutta University, 1925, 1930 and 1938; Judge of Calcutta High Court, 1941-43; Vice-Chancellor, Calcutta University, 1944-46; Judge, International Military Tribunal for the trial of major war criminals of the Far East (Tokyo), 1946-48; Chairman, International Law Commission, 1958 and 1962; National Professor of Jurisprudence, 1959-67; author of several books on Hindu Law and of *Crimes in International Relations* (1955).

13. The Situation in China¹

The attached letter and note from our Ambassador in China² are very interesting. I think that Panikkar has allowed his imagination to go a little further than facts warrant. But his analysis is a good one, though it goes too far.

2. I think we should give thought to this changing China and shape our policy to some extent in accordance with these changes.

3. The first thing is that our Ambassador and staff should not move out of Nanking with the Government, even if that Government moves out. That has already been decided. But I should like to emphasise it. Following a tottering government is not a good policy. At the most some one member of the staff may follow the Government, but the Embassy as a whole should remain in Nanking and face the new situation. We cannot ignore the Communist Government, specially after it captures Nanking. How we deal with it is another matter. We shall not of course immediately recognise it. But at the same time we cannot ignore it. We may have to have some dealings with it. For all these reasons the Embassy should continue in Nanking.

4. I think it would be desirable for us to have some rather unofficial contacts with the Communist areas and their leaders. This means no commitment of any kind. It means first of all that we should have information and should know more or less what their policies are. Secondly, it means that we can have some kind of unofficial or semi-official contacts with them which might prove of use later. Thirdly, they might be induced not to be hostile to us. I have some slight reputation with the leaders of Communist China because of the Medical Mission that we sent.³ I have corresponded with Mao Tse-tung⁴ and other leaders in the past. All this might help.

5. It is clear that any kind of Government that may be established by the Communists in China will be outwardly a coalition government, though it will be dominated by the Communists. Chiang Kai-shek's government is so discredited that most neutral people will associate themselves with the Communist Government. To begin with this coalition government will try not to follow what might be called a Communist policy. It will adopt mode-

1. Note to the Foreign Secretary, 5 December 1948. J.N. Collection.

2. K.M. Panikkar.

3. In September 1938 the Indian National Congress had sent to China a five-member medical mission to work with the Eighth Route Army of the Chinese Communist Party which was fighting the Japanese imperialists.

4. For Nehru's letter to Mao Tse-tung see *Selected Works*, Vol. 10, (first series), p. 75. Mao's letter dated 24 May 1939 is printed in Nehru's *A Bunch of Old Letters*, pp. 385-86.

rate policies in order to win over the other elements in China. It will be anxious to develop relations with neighbour countries, notably India. I rather doubt if even Communist China will be just a hanger-on of the Soviet.

6. Now the future is likely to be full of new developments and we have to be wide awake and not merely hang on to Chiang Kai-shek and his fading authority. Nor should we just follow what the U.K. or U.S.A. might do in China. All this means that our Embassy should be alive to these considerations, and secondly, if possible, we should develop some informal contacts with the Communist side.

7. How are we to do this latter thing ? It would not be right at all for any member of our Embassy staff to try to go to the Communist area. It is possible for some one else to go there. That some one must be fully acquainted with China and capable of reaching these places without much help from any one here. It is not easy to think of such a person. But ever since I met Cyril P.K. Fazal, the Indian Christian who has recently returned from China with Panikkar's strong recommendation, I have been thinking about this matter. Fazal has worked in China on behalf of various United Nations relief organisations for three years. He knows something about the interior including, I think, part of the Communist interior. He has many contacts.

8. I should like you to think about all this and then to discuss it with me. I should also like you to meet Fazal and have a talk with him, without disclosing our intention in any way. He is rather at a loose end and, from Panikkar's account, he is a man of worth and capacity.

14. Visas to Afghans¹

With reference to the attached telegram from our embassy in Kabul, I think we should relax our rules about grant of visas to visitors from Afghanistan to some extent. As pointed out in this telegram, it is very inconvenient for people in Afghanistan to make long journeys repeatedly to get a visa. Some methods should be devised for checking. But this will have to be left to our embassy, except for doubtful cases which should be referred to us.

This might be put to the Home Ministry.

1. Note to the Foreign Secretary, 12 December 1948. File No. 10(2)-IA/48, M.E.A. & C.R., N.A.I.

15. Cable to the Maharaja of Nepal¹

In July 1948 Your Highness' Government readily agreed to help India by placing at her disposal 10 battalions of the Nepal Army.² Government of India are extremely grateful for this help. The loan of the Nepalese Contingent made it possible for Government of India to take away Indian Army troops employed on internal security duties, for Hyderabad action and thereby helped Government of India in maintaining peace and tranquillity throughout the country. Since the conclusion of Hyderabad action Government of India have been considering to what extent troops employed in connection with Hyderabad could revert to their internal security duties and thereby permit return of the Nepalese Contingent whom you were so kind enough to lend. We now consider that from about the middle of January 1949 it should be possible for the Nepalese Contingent to return to Nepal. Detailed arrangements will be made in consultation with G.O.C.-in-C., Nepalese Contingent. I convey once again my personal gratefulness and thanks as well as that of Government of India for the very timely and ready help which India received from Nepal and which proved once again the very close friendship which binds the two countries.

1. New Delhi, 14 December 1948. J.N. Collection.

16. Cultural Genocide¹

Some time ago I wanted to know why our representative in a committee of the U.N. Assembly opposed vehemently a resolution of the Soviet Union regarding cultural genocide. Under whose instructions² did Sundaram³ take up this attitude. I should like to know this. I attach an article from the *Pakistan Times*.

1. Note to the Principal Private Secretary, 14 December 1948. File No. 2(9)-UNO-I/47, M.E.A., N.A.I.
2. The Indian attitude on cultural genocide was determined on a brief prepared by C.S. Jha in consultation with Ministries of Home and Law which was approved by Foreign Secretary. It was apprehended that in view of the attitude adopted by certain religious groups, inclusion of cultural genocide might expose the government to frequent charges of genocide.
3. Opposing a Soviet proposal for inclusion of cultural genocide in the draft convention on the crime of genocide and Pakistan's effort to persuade the United Nations to outlaw cultural genocide, K.V.K. Sundaram argued in the General Assembly on 9 December 1948 that cultural genocide was not commensurate with physical genocide and the proper place for the protection of the cultural rights of groups was not in this convention but in the declaration of human rights. He assured that full and adequate provisions were being made in the Indian Constitution for safeguarding the language, religion and culture of all minority groups.

18. Indians in South Africa¹

This Congress has noted with deep regret that the Government of the Union of South Africa continues to treat its Indian citizens in defiance² of acknowledged human rights and of the principles laid down in the Charter of the United Nations. That Government has ignored the wishes of the General Assembly of the United Nations and even challenged the fundamental principles on which the United Nations are³ founded. The Congress can never accept this repudiation of every principle for which it stands. Such repudiation can only lead to bitter and far-reaching racial conflicts and to the break-up of the United Nations Organisation.⁴

The Congress expresses its full sympathy with all those who have suffered by the policy of racial discrimination of the Government of the Union of South Africa.

1. Resolution drafted by Nehru and passed at the Jaipur Congress on 19 December 1948. J.N. Collection.
2. The word "defiance" was replaced by the word "disregard" in the resolution that was finally passed.
3. The word "are" was replaced by "Organisation is".
4. The last two sentences were replaced by : "This repudiation of a vital principle, if persisted in, can only result in the break up of the United Nations Organisation."

11

FOREIGN POLICY
IX. Foreign Enclaves in India

1. Cable to N. Gopalaswami Ayyangar¹

Your telegram No. 11980 dated 15th October. I saw both President Auriol² and Foreign Minister Schuman³ this morning. Reception was most cordial and our conversation showed sincere desire of France to be friendly with new India whose importance is fully realised. Both President and Schuman discussed future of French establishments. I am satisfied that they desire elections to be free. They said that, at this stage, it is impossible to have elections postponed but our suggestion for appointment of observers was well received by Schuman who said that he could see no personal objection but must get approval of his colleagues. Matter will be discussed today by French Cabinet and we should know their decision in next day or two.

2. French Government have many internal difficulties and we should avoid adding to these by condemning them or accusing them of bad faith. They are genuinely anxious to be friendly in context of present world situation and will do what they can to help. Our task here has not been made easy by outburst of Madras Premier⁴ to Levi.⁵ We should have our list of observers ready so that, in event of French agreement, they can proceed at once to their duties. They should be officials and should not include any official of Madras Government.

3. Please pass copy to Sardar Patel.

1. Paris, 16 October 1948. J.N. Collection.
2. Vincent Auriol (1884-1966); General Secretary of Socialist Group in Parliament, 1919-36; Minister of Finance, 1936-37, of Justice, 1937 and of Coordination of Services to Presidency Council, March-April, 1938; President, Foreign Affairs Committee, 1945-46; President of the French Republic, January 1946-53; resigned from Socialist Party, 1959.
3. Robert Schuman was Foreign Minister of France from July 1948 to January 1953.
4. O.P. Ramaswami Reddiar.
5. Daniel Levi was the French Ambassador in India.

SELECTED WORKS OF JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

2. French Enclaves¹

The Consul General should be informed that when I was in Paris, a representative of General de Gaulle called on the Secretary General² to express the General's regret that he could not see me. He was away then electioneering in the South of France. He sent a message, however, that he was eager to come to a friendly settlement with India and to have India's friendship.

1. Note, 22 November 1948. File No. 15(6)-X/48, M.E.A. & C.R., N.A.I.
2. G.S. Bajpai.

3. Referendum in French Enclaves¹

I have seen the telegram you have sent to Indembassy, Paris, No. 157 dated 14th December.²

I should like to point out that owing to recent developments, this whole business of elections and referendum has been thrown out of joint. We should not therefore commit ourselves to any move in this direction.³ We need not repudiate it, but we should point out that after our recent experiences, it is difficult for us to consider any elections or referendum seriously.

1. Note to the Foreign Secretary, 15 December 1948. File No. 15 (4)-X/48, M.E.A. & C.R., N.A.I.
2. In this cable K.P.S. Menon had stated that Daniel Levi, the French Ambassador had met him to complain about the arrests of French Indian citizens in Mahe and Pondicherry by Indian police and requested for their release.
3. At the meeting, Ambassador Levi had suggested the posting of neutral observers during the referendum in French India.

4. No Future for Foreign Footholds¹

We have a large number of intricate problems before us, but this particular problem of foreign possessions within our territory is probably one of the smallest. It is inevitable that it has to be solved in a particular way. There might be a little delay or difficulty in its solution, but it is not in the larger context of India a really difficult problem.

What is the major issue before us? It is quite inevitable that these foreign possessions should cease to be foreign and should be incorporated politically within the Indian Union. That is a big thing. That is the policy which India must necessarily adopt because we cannot admit any foreign foothold on the continent of India. But to give effect to that policy, we have to pursue international methods. We have to deal with foreign governments. As a Government, and as a great organisation which is intimately connected with that Government, we cannot proceed in a non-governmental way. It is for the people of those territories to do what they like, but we cannot go about approaching this problem in a non-governmental way.

I ask you to consider the broad problem to which vague references have been made, namely, the ending of imperialism and colonialism everywhere more especially in Asia. I would hesitate indulging in tall talk to which effect cannot be given. Nevertheless, even from the point of view of India's freedom and world peace, we are quite clear in our mind that the continuation of imperialism or colonialism in any part of the world, more especially in Asia, is dangerous.

The cultural aspect of the problem is an equally important matter. We should give the people of these areas an opportunity to live a full cultural life as they choose and any change that is brought about should not be upsetting factor in the personal life of the people there. While India had been under British domination for more than two hundred years, some of these possessions have been under alien political and cultural domination for 400 years and powerfully affected by it. Their institutions political, educational, linguistic and cultural have been powerfully influenced. If we now tell the people of these possessions to become part of the Indian system and we uproot them completely from the kind of life they were leading for centuries, we would not be serving the interests of justice. It is upto the

1. Address to the Subjects Committee on the resolution opposing foreign possessions in India, Jaipur Congress, 17 December 1948. From *The Hindu*, 18 December 1948.

people of these possessions to decide whether they would like to continue with their French or Portuguese culture. They should be given an opportunity if they choose to do so.

I think it is not merely a question of resolution but a practical problem which we have to face today. I do not suggest that the Congress should lay down any hard and fast rule although it would be justified in doing so. The Congress should not say anything definite which it cannot give effect to. Our broad policy should be directed towards removal of colonialism or imperialism, wherever it exists, more especially from Asia, and from India of course.

The movers of the amendments to the resolution may not always find support among the people of these foreign possessions. I doubt if some of these amendments would be welcomed by them. You have got into the position of championing the cause of some people who do not want them to be championed. It is, therefore, a delicate matter for the Congress to deal with the details of the problem.

We cannot invite conflict. Our policy must be directed to this end, namely, that no foreign power should have any colonial territory on the continent of Asia, and obviously so in India. It might take some time to change over and bring about freedom to various countries in Asia. Any violent attempt to hurry that process might delay matters and lead to a great deal of suffering. The general policy should be that there should be no power holding any colonial territory in Asia and it is obvious that we should direct full attention to the foreign territories in India itself, but the method of approach should be in keeping with the wishes of the people.

5. Foreign Possessions in India¹

The chequered course of India's history during the last two hundred years or more has left certain foreign possessions in various parts of the country. These foreign possessions continued for this long period because India herself was under alien domination.

With the establishment of independence in India the continued existence of any foreign possessions in India becomes anomalous and opposed to the conception of India's unity and freedom. Therefore it has become necessary

1. Resolution drafted by Nehru and passed at the Jaipur Congress on 19 December 1948.
J.N. Collection.

for these possessions to be politically incorporated in India and no other solution can be stable or lasting or in conformity with the will of the people. The Congress trusts that this change will be brought about soon by peaceful methods and the friendly cooperation of the Governments concerned. The Congress realises that during this long period political, cultural, linguistic, educational and judicial systems² have grown up in these foreign possessions which are different from those prevailing in the rest of India. Any change-over therefore must take these factors into consideration and allow for a gradual adjustment which will not interfere with the life of the people.³ The Congress would welcome the present cultural heritage of these possessions to be continued, in so far as the people of those possessions desire and for a measure of autonomy to be granted, wherever possible, so as to enable the people of these⁴ possessions to maintain their culture and institutions within the larger framework of free India.

2. In the resolution finally adopted, the preceding part of the sentence read: "The Congress realises that during this long period administrative, cultural, educational and judicial systems...." and the words "political" and "linguistic" were dropped.
3. The final resolution contained the words "of the areas concerned."
4. In the final resolution the word "these" was replaced by "those."

12
MISCELLANEOUS

1. To V.K. Krishna Menon¹

Paris

26 October 1948

My dear Krishna,

Your brief remark last night disturbed me, more especially as it was totally unexpected. I thought that things were improving and the coming of Asok Chanda² would lighten your burdens and give you more time for important matters. In Delhi there is of course tremendous room for improvement but I do think that there is very general appreciation of the excellent work you have done since you became H.C. You know that this London job is more important than any other and I just do not know what I would do if you walked away.

I think it will be worthwhile for you to come here for a day or two before I go back to India...

Yours affectionately,
Jawaharlal

1. V.K. Krishna Menon Papers, N.M.M.L. Extracts.

2. Chanda was the Deputy High Commissioner in the U.K. from October 1948 to May 1949.

2. To A.V. Pai¹

Paris

28th October 1948

My dear Pai,

...Lady Mountbatten made enquiries from me about the Women's Conference which was proposed to be held in Calcutta and which we did not permit because of its association with international communism. This was under the auspices of the Women's International Democratic Federation which apparently is a very mixed body. The British branch of it approached me and Lady Mountbatten was also somewhat concerned about the matter. She said that she could quite understand that this Conference should not be held at the time and place, i.e., Calcutta, which was previously suggested. Would it be possible to permit it to be held at some other place and some other time ? I should like you to ask H.V.R. Iengar to write a brief note on the subject which I could send on to Lady Mountbatten after my return.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. J.N. Collection. Extracts.

3. To Indira Gandhi¹

Paris

28 October, 1948

Darling Indu,

You have not written to me since I left India. I have not been too good a correspondent but I have at least sent you two letters. Also you get some news of me from the papers.

I have been here in Paris for two days. I like Paris but the present atmosphere is not conducive to enjoyment. Last night we went to the Opera—a gala performance in honour of the U.N. delegates. There was a ballet—fairly good. I am not much of a judge but on the whole I liked it. For the rest I hope to visit the Louvre² &c and go occasionally to the Bois de Boulogne.³ This living in expensive hotels is rather unnerving. And the food that is wasted here and in every restaurant gives me repeated shocks. The French have not lost their love of food even though France may be disintegrating.

I rather enjoyed my stay in England, especially my two weekends in Broadlands. I suppose that was natural for I had to react in that way to the welcome and friendly approach I found everywhere. Perhaps also my vanity was tickled for there was praise enough. I am told I made a hit, from Buckingham Palace downwards. Even Winston Churchill went rather out of his way to be friendly to me. All this was partly me but much more so the growing importance of India which is dawning upon the outside world. *The Economist* comes out with an article on 'India—the new Great Power'. So I basked in all this praise and adulation. But at the same time I felt rather uncomfortable and somewhat out of place and counterfeit.

The Mountbatten family derived a lot of amusement from a letter Dickie received from a gentleman in Calcutta suggesting that in the interest of Indo-British friendship Pamela should marry me !

This evening I had two long interviews—nearly two hours with Dulles,⁴ the prospective Secretary of State in the U.S.A., and nearly three hours with Vyshinsky.⁵ An interesting but at the same time an exhausting business.

Love,

Papu.

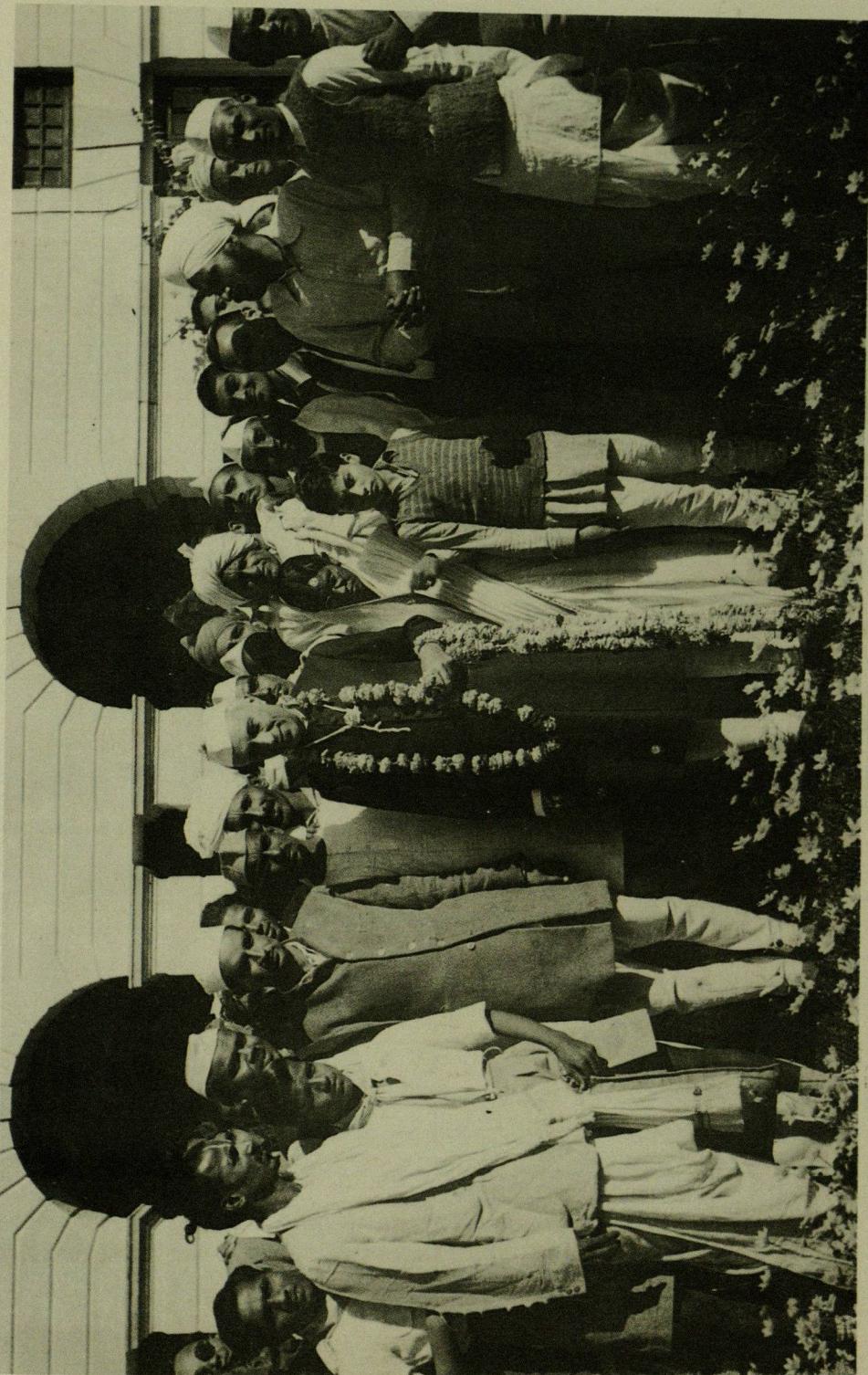
1. J.N. Papers, N.M.M.L.

2. The French Royal Palace converted into an art gallery and museum.

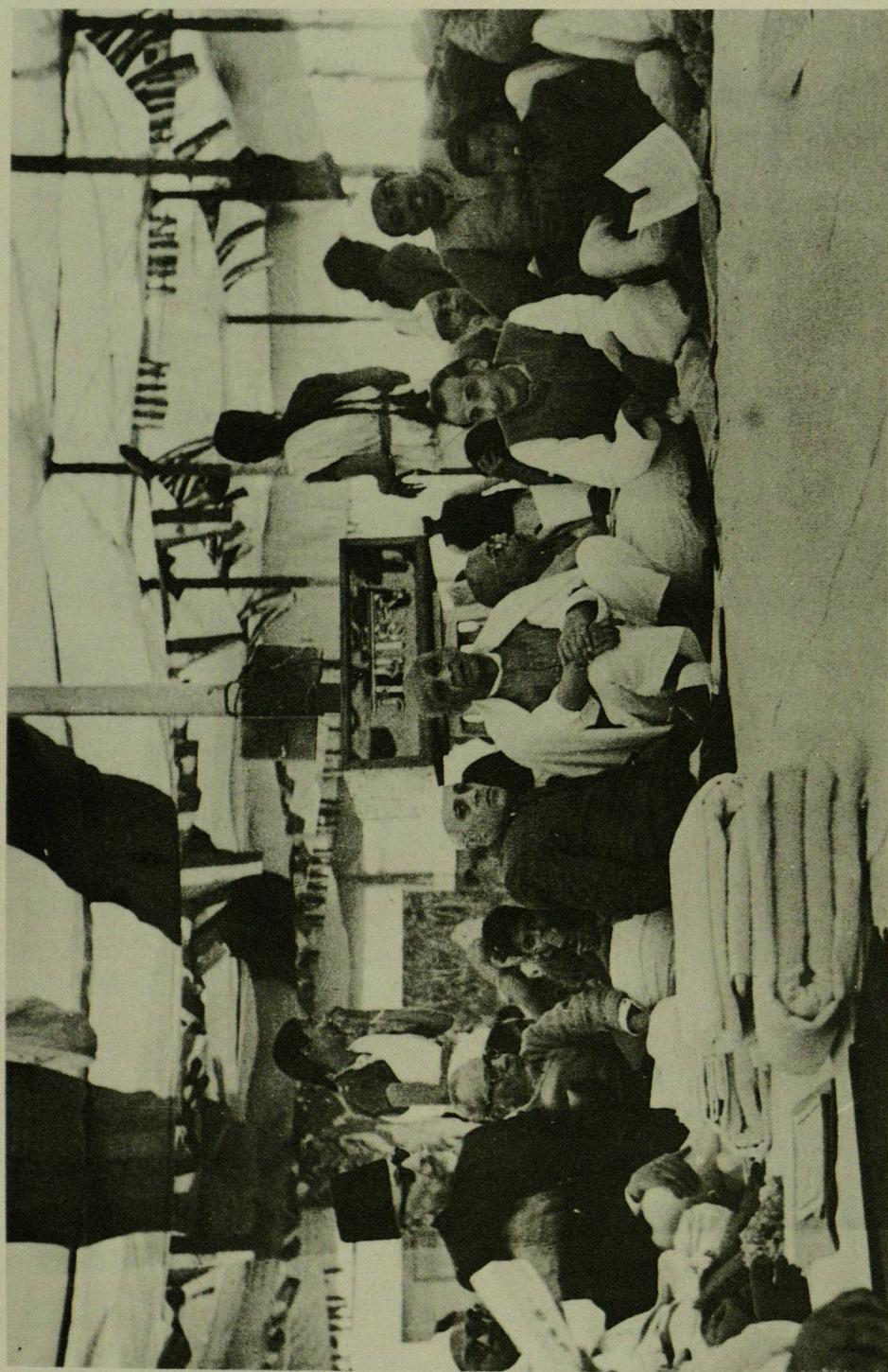
3. A wood in the suburbs of Paris.

4. John F. Dulles.

5. Andrei Y. Vyshinsky.



ON HIS 59TH BIRTHDAY, TEEN MURTI HOUSE, NEW DELHI, 14 NOVEMBER 1948



AT THE CONGRESS SESSION, JAIPUR, DECEMBER 1948

4. To George Bernard Shaw¹

Paris
October 28, 1948

Dear Mr. Shaw,

Your letter of the 18th September sent to New Delhi has reached me here in Paris today.² Thank you very much for it. I do not know why it took such a long time to reach Delhi and then to come back here. It appears to have reached Delhi on the 15th October. I am extremely sorry that I did not get it earlier.

As I wrote to you, I would have greatly welcomed the opportunity of meeting you during my visit to England. It is true that those who made themselves responsible for my programme made it so full that it was difficult for me to find time for the many things I really wanted to do. Nevertheless, I would undoubtedly have found time to visit you but as I did not hear from you in reply to my letter, I was not quite sure if a visit from me would be convenient for you and so I hesitated to approach you again.

I am on my way back to India. It is a matter of deep regret to me that I missed this opportunity of paying my respects to you.³ But I still hope that I would have this chance on some future occasion.⁴

With regards,

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. *A Bunch of Old Letters* by Jawaharlal Nehru (Asia Publishing House, Bombay 1958) p. 519.
2. In his letter of 18 September 1948 Bernard Shaw welcomed Nehru's proposed visit and reminisced about his stay in India and Sri Lanka long ago. In his view India's partition was equivalent to Ireland's.
3. Bernard Shaw replied on 12 November that he was not disappointed because he knew that Nehru would be much in demand in London during the Commonwealth Premiers' Conference; "Your participation in the Conference was a great success for you personally. Your broadcast was a very conspicuous item in its contrast to the platitudes of the others; and your later speeches established you as the only Asiatic equivalent to Stalin. Your assurance that there is no immediate possibility of war was the right thing at the right moment."
4. On 29 April 1949 Nehru met Bernard Shaw at Ayot St. Lawrence, 30 miles from London.

5. Cable to Vallabhbhai Patel¹

Love and all good wishes on your birth anniversary. May you live long to carry worthily the great burdens you have undertaken in the service of India.

1. Paris, 1 November 1948. *Sardar Patel's Correspondence 1945-50*, Vol. 6, p. 503.

6. To Asaf Ali¹

New Delhi
November 11, 1948

My dear Asaf,

Thank you for your telegram and for your letter which I have just received. I also received your other letter just as I was leaving India.

I fear I cannot go to Orissa for your convocation. Work here has accumulated and the problems that are faces are terrific. In December we shall have to spend many days at Jaipur for Congress. I have also to pay one or two visits to other places.

I would love to go to Orissa because the province attracts me. But if you ask me to come for the convocation, that would mean my not going at some better time later. I look upon Orissa as a place where I should go without any specific engagement. When Katju was there I promised to go specially to visit the Konark temple.² Indeed it was almost a joint promise—Lady Mountbatten's and mine, but neither could keep it. I have that in mind still and perhaps Edwina Mountbatten might come to India next year in connection with relief work.

Love,

Yours,
Jawahar

1. J.N. Collection.

2. Konark, a village in Puri district, on the coast of Bay of Bengal, is famous for the great Sun temple built under the Ganga Kings in the 13th century.

7. To Minoo R. Masani¹

New Delhi
November 11, 1948

My dear Minoo,

I received your letter a few days ago on my return from Europe. I was waiting for the silver-wood boxes that you had sent. They have come today. They are very attractive. Thank you and Shakuntala² for them.

The month I spent in Europe was a very full month and I think it yielded good results. I came back feeling a little fitter and fresher than when I went.

1. J.N. Collection.

2. Wife of Minoo Masani.

But I have little doubt that this feeling of freshness will vanish very soon here in India. It is not so much the heaviness of the work or the difficulty of the problems that one has to face but the pettiness and narrow-mindedness that faces one everywhere.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

8. To N.W. Manley¹

New Delhi
November 11, 1948

My dear Mr. Manley,²

John Goddard, the Captain of the West Indies cricket team, handed to me personally today your letter of September 26. I was happy to hear from you again and I well remember our correspondence ten years ago.

Today, after many years, I went to a cricket match and I saw the West Indies Eleven put up a huge score.³ They are a fine team and it was a pleasure to watch them play. I hope they will have a good time in India and by their visit create new bonds between India and the West Indies.

We have had difficult times in India, but on the whole we have continued to make progress and to overcome our difficulties. India is certainly destined to play a part in world history and she cannot escape it because of her position in size and resources. But this means a heavy burden on those connected with her governance.

I have recently returned from a month's visit to Europe. I was glad to visit England and France again. But the state of European politics is most distressing and the future does not appear to be very promising.

With all good wishes to you,

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. J.N. Collection.
2. Norman Washington Manley (1893-1969); called to Bar, 1921; Founder - President, People's National Party, Jamaica, 1938; Chief Minister, Jamaica, 1955-59; redesignated Premier, 1959-62; Leader of the Opposition, 1962-69.
3. In the first test between India and the West Indies which began on 10 November 1948 at Delhi, the West Indies had piled up a total of 623 runs for the loss of 8 wickets at the end of the second day's play on 11 November.

9. Strikes and Inflation¹

You might have heard that there is a talk for some kind of token strike tomorrow.² Well, I do not know exactly what will happen tomorrow, but I do think it exceedingly unfortunate that such a step should be taken by the organised workers in Delhi or elsewhere. I quite realise their difficulties. Owing to inflation price-levels and cost of living index have gone up and according to Pay Commission's report, which we accepted, if the price-level goes up certain slabs in dearness allowance are to be given. Now, the price-level did go up and shot up and it should have followed by a certain step to give slabs. But apart from the financial difficulty of giving those slabs, and that is a very considerable difficulty. The other even greater difficulty is that if we go on adding to the national, not only national expenditure but to the money to be spent in this way, the result is that all our anti-inflation activities come to an end and in the inflationary tendency becomes worse and worse, so that we go on giving slabs and the price levels go up and there is nothing left. This difficulty might be due to Government's incompetence in dealing with the situation in the past period and it is frightfully difficult there to deal with it in the simple way of asking large increases in dearness allowances. But we do realise the difficulty on the part of the workers and we are investigating how to help them in this without adding to the inflationary tendencies and any Government, you will appreciate and I hope public will appreciate, cannot possibly continue to exist if it just surrenders to these organised workers who control essential services etc. We are prepared to discuss these matters with the organised workers and we have discussed in the past and will discuss in future to find out ways and means but surrender is impossible. To accept the kind of terms that are put forward will mean complete economic collapse. So I do hope that the leaders of the workers not only in Delhi but elsewhere will try to understand this position because it would do the country little good to launch strikes from time to time. It brings them into conflict with Government—Government hates such conflicts, and whatever the result it imperils the very thing they ask for—greater dearness allowance, even that is imperilled. The only possible way

1. Proceedings of a press conference, Delhi, 12 November 1948. J.N. Papers, N.M.M.L. For the first part of this press conference see *ante*, section 11, sub-section I, item 15.
2. A token strike called by the Hind Mazdoor Panchayat on 13 November 1948, was partially successful with essential services like water, electricity and transport remaining unaffected but textile mills and other factories had scanty attendance of workers. Lal Behari Pandey, a labour leader and 21 workers were arrested by the police.

is for all of them together to consider what are the ways of meeting this crisis and finally some way out to help them without at the same time adding to the inflationary tendencies.

Q : Why don't you hold a press conference on this subject ? There is no Minister to whom we can go and discuss these things.

JN : There are plenty of Ministers. There is the Finance Minister and the Labour Minister but if occasion arises, certainly we will have press conference for that issue as for any other.

You will remember that we decided a month or two ago to reintroduce the controls. It has taken a little time but I hope within a month or so they will be introduced. Because of this—perhaps it is inevitable—we have not been able to bring down the prices appreciably. I believe the wholesale price index has remained steady in the past two months. Previously it showed a tendency to go up. I believe it will go down, though not very rapidly, after a month or so. If there is this control and rationing etc. then—I don't say you do away with the blackmarket—it will help the people to get food and clothing which are the most important things at moderate prices. The past experience as you might say in every country is there is a good deal of corruption in control but the fact remains that people got the thing at particular prices in the rationed areas. There is no doubt about that. There can be no guarantee that corruption will not take place. But even suppose there is some corruption, if people can get their food at particular prices that is a great gain. Is it not ? It is very easy to give the biggest punishment to blackmarketeers once you prove the thing but the difficulty is to prove it. It is frightfully difficult. You know we appointed an Income-Tax Investigation Tribunal.³ The Tribunal consists of very able men and people who are earnest in getting results. They came and approached us for greater powers. We have told them we will give them any powers. We have given them those powers and we will continue to do so but the fact remains that it is a lengthy process when we come to big evaders and offenders.

Q. What is your advice to the workers who have given notice of strike. Would you ask them to join the I.N.T.U.C. ?

JN : You know the I.N.T.U.C. is a federation of unions which is not exactly connected with the Congress but to which the Congress has given its blessings. It is, I believe, in point of numbers, probably the largest in India today and there is foundation membership from Ahmedabad and one or two other places. I think the I.N.T.U.C. is on the whole working along good lines from the workers' point of view. It is just absurd as some people say, to call it a kind of Employers' Federation or Union. I don't think so.

3. The Income Tax Investigation Commission was appointed on 28 February 1948 to examine if the existing laws and procedures for the assessment and collection of tax were adequate to prevent evasion, and to investigate cases referred to it.

I am not personally—to be quite frank—very well acquainted with the developments in the past few months about it. So I cannot tell you in detail but some people who cannot possibly or conceivably function in anything that might be called an Employers Union, who have followed in the fights against employers, are working in it.

Q : Should these token strikes be termed illegal and fought ?

JN : In fact even in the notice for a 'token' strike it is said it is a token strike and a few weeks later there would be a full-blooded affair. If it is illegal, it is illegal. You may say that Government should not take up too stern a line in punishing people. That is another matter. If it is illegal certain consequences follows.

Q. There is this question of employment policy. I am told that the Kunzru Committee⁴ has recommended outright sacking of 3 lakh employees.

JN : I don't know.

4. The reference is to the Indian Railway Enquiry Committee set up in 1947 to (1) suggest ways and means of securing improvement in net earnings (a) by economies in all branches of Railway Administration and (b) by any other means; (2) ascertain the extent of staff surplus to the requirements and suggest practical methods of absorbing them in the Railway Service.

10. Association with the Congress and Vallabhbhai Patel¹

I have a great pride in the Congress Party. It is better knit than political parties usually are because of the ordeals we have shared in common. If the path of nonviolence had not been followed, many millions would have lost their lives.

My association with Sardar Patel had extended over more than three decades and I value that association immensely. The Sardar has been a tower of strength; but for his affection and advice I would not have been able to run the State.²

1. Remarks at a party given by Congress members of the Constituent Assembly to celebrate Nehru's birthday, 14 November 1948. From *National Herald*, 15 November and *The Hindustan Times*, 15 November 1948.
2. Patel had said that Gandhi had chosen in Nehru the right person as his political heir and successor.

11. To Vijayalakshmi Pandit¹

New Delhi
November 16, 1948

Nan dear,

I have been wanting to write to you since my return, but I have been rather overwhelmed with work. I want to congratulate you on the really fine speech that you delivered in the Trusteeship Committee. Ahmed² brought out a good cartoon.³ If I find it I shall send it to you.

For the moment I do not quite know how to deal with the mountain of work that faces me. Bajpai's absence has naturally added to my labours, and even K.P.S. Menon has gone on 10 days' leave. This time of course the Constituent Assembly had to meet and so also the Working Committee of the Congress. We are having a number of international conferences here and it is supposed to be my job to inaugurate them and to give parties to them.

I am thinking of going to Kashmir for a day next Saturday-Sunday, and Indu and the girls are likely to accompany me. One of the reasons why I want to go is to give a chance to the two Iranian Princesses, Ashraf and Fatima who are here, to see Srinagar.

Next month there is the Congress Session at Jaipur and the Working Committee and other meetings. After that I am likely to go to Hyderabad and Mysore. Early in January I go to Allahabad for the Science Congress.⁴

The girls are well. Tara has been meeting Gautam frequently and he has come here several times to feed with us. Indu has been asking me about the wedding. It seems to be taken for granted that the wedding will take place in Allahabad. At first I did not like this idea, but the more I think of it, the more I like it. In Allahabad it will be a much more personal and simple affair and I think something is due to Allahabad from all of us. We can later come to Delhi and have some kind of a party. If we have the wedding in Delhi it will be a difficult matter to decide who to invite and who not to invite. A very large number will have to be invited and they will feel bound to give presents. I want to avoid this as this kind of thing is becoming a bit of a scandal.

Indu has been unwell with whooping cough. The children had it too, but they have recovered.

1. J.N. Collection.
2. Enver Ahmed (b. 1909); cartoonist, worked with *Pioneer* (Lucknow), 1933-1946, *Dawn* (Delhi) February to August, 1946 and *The Hindustan Times* (Delhi), September 1946-April 1962.
3. Printed in the volume.
4. Nehru inaugurated the 26th session of the Indian Science Congress Association on 3 January 1949. K.S. Krishnan was the President of this session from 3 to 8 January.

My birthday became rather a moving affair for me. I avoided any public celebration. But large numbers of people of all kinds and degrees, including hundreds of children came to visit me in the course of the day and their affection and friendliness touched me greatly.

Yours,
Jawahar

12. Response to Birthday Greetings¹

Innumerable friends and comrades, known and unknown have sent me greetings and good wishes on the occasion of my birthday. Birthdays are no longer occasions for me to rejoice over and I would rather not be reminded of them. But I am deeply grateful for the affection and goodwill that my people have showered upon me and I thank them for their messages.

No man can live up to such expectations and I am not vain enough to imagine that I can. I have felt very humble in the face of this overwhelming affection and confidence. All I can hope is that so long as there is any strength left in my mind and body, I shall do nothing to betray this.

1. Released to the press on 17 November 1948. From *National Herald*, 18 November 1948.

13. To C. Rajagopalachari¹

New Delhi
November 22, 1948

My dear Rajaji,

I have thanked you in person for the beautiful message that you sent me on the occasion of my birthday.² May I repeat those thanks in writing? Your little message attached to a lovely bunch of flowers, and your letter were typical of you and of your large-heartedness. I was moved by them.

1. J.N. Collection.

2. Rajagopalachari informed Nehru that he had recited the *Vishnu Sahastranama*—the thousand names of Vishnu—for Nehru.

I have received an abundance of good wishes from all kinds of people and naturally I have felt a little elated, but immediately another feeling has followed, something almost akin to depression, although depression is not the right word. It was a feeling of smallness before the great responsibility that circumstances have thrust upon me and the great expectations that people seem to have.

Your presence here has been an enormous help.

Yours,
Jawaharlal

14. To Amiya Chakravarty¹

New Delhi
November 23, 1948

My dear Amiya,

I have not acknowledged your letter of the 9th September. Soon after I got it I went off to England and France.

I quite realise that a visit from me to the U.S.A. is overdue. I would love to go there. But I fear for the present it is not possible. Perhaps sometime next year it might be managed. That would depend on so many circumstances, chiefly the situation in India.

Thank you for sending me Aldous Huxley's book *Ape and Essence*. I have just finished reading it. It is certainly worth reading and it makes one think. But it does leave a bitter taste behind.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

SELECTED WORKS OF JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

15. To Asaf Ali¹

New Delhi

November 24, 1948

My dear Asaf,

I met Aruna the other day and she was speaking to me about you and how lonely you were feeling. There you are in Orissa, feeling lonely and wanting the busy life of a big city and friends and companions. Here am I living in the big city meeting plenty of people, and longing for some place where I could be alone. I suppose both of these aspects of life are necessary and too much of one is not too good. Anyhow we have to submit to the force of circumstances or fate or call it what you will.

I hope you will come to the Jaipur Congress. Not for political work but to meet old friends and colleagues. Probably a formal invitation has already gone to you from Pattabhi or the Reception Committee. Before going to Jaipur you should come to Delhi and spend a few days here. It will be good to see you and many people here would welcome your visit.

Thank you for the telegram you sent on the occasion of my birthday. At our age birthdays are not very happy events. We begin thinking of the past and grow reminiscent. A panorama of past events come before our eyes, some pictures please, some do not.

Yours,
Jawahar

1. J.N. Papers, N.M.M.L.

16. C. Vijayaraghavachariar¹

It was my privilege to know and work with Shri Vijayaraghavachariar for many years and I have a vivid recollection of those days. I should like to pay a tribute to the fine quality of his mind and to his unswerving devotion to India's freedom.

1. Message, 24 November 1948, for *Dawn and Achievement of Freedom in India* by R.T. Parthasarathy (being the life and times of Dr. C. Vijayaraghavachariar, Patriot and Thinker), Salem, 1953.

17. To N. Gopalaswami Ayyangar¹

New Delhi
November 24, 1948

My dear Gopalaswami,

I have not acknowledged for these many days your letter of the 14th November sending me your good wishes and blessings on my birthday. I have received a vast number of letters and telegrams on this occasion and many of them have moved me and, if I may say so, troubled me a little, for this abundance of affection was both elating and a little alarming. I did not quite know how I could prove myself worthy of all this.

But none of the messages that I have received has moved me so much as your letter which is so full of affection and generosity. You know very well what you have meant to me during the past year as a colleague in the Cabinet. When in doubt, I have always turned to you for advice and counsel, for I knew that that advice would be dispassionate and based on principles. I have always felt very grateful to you for having agreed, although reluctantly, to share this burden with us. None of us has had an easy time, or are likely to have an easy time. But it has been a privilege to work with you.

Thanking you again and with warm affection.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. J.N. Papers, N.M.M.L.

18. To Syed Mahmud¹

New Delhi
November 24, 1948

My dear Mahmud,

Thank you for your letter and telegram on the occasion of my birthday. Also for the *kukti* that you sent.

We have spent many of these birthdays together in prison and elsewhere and I have the happiest memories of them. Those were more carefree days than what we have to go through now.

Love,

Yours affectionately,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. Syed Mahmud Papers, N.M.M.L.

19. To Mohanlal Saksena¹

November 24, 1948

My dear Mohanlal,

Your letter from Bhopal reached me some days ago. I appreciated it very much, coming as it did from one of my oldest colleagues and comrades. What a long time has elapsed since we started on this journey together, with all its ups and downs, its failures which turned into success, and its successes which were as bad as failures. I suppose there is no end to this journey and we have to carry on with good heart, taking care that we do not forget the principles and ideals we have stood for. Ultimately, it is the comradeship and affection of old colleagues that count and you have been one of these.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. J.N. Papers, N.M.M.L.

20. To Narendra Deva¹

November 24, 1948

My dear Narendra Deva,

Thank you for the telegram which you and Ram Manohar² sent me on the occasion of my birthday.

Birthdays make one think of the past, specially birthdays on the wrong side of fifty. I have been thinking a great deal of these long years and all the ups and downs and the successes and failures. Oddly enough, what seemed to be a failure often led to a success and what seemed to be a success, changed into something very like a failure. Life is a queer business and the more one tries to understand it, the queerer it grows. But one thing holds and that is the friendship and affection of old colleagues and comrades.

With all good wishes,

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. J.N. Papers, N.M.M.L.

2. R.M. Lohia.

21. To P.A. Narielwala¹

November 24, 1948

Dear Pan,

Thank you for your telegram on the occasion of my birthday. Why should people send such telegrams, specially when they come in hundreds and thousands. But it is very pleasant to think of old friends and to feel warmed up before affection. So your telegram pleased me and made me think of one such old friend, who has a consistent record of showering affection and generosity on me.

Yours,
Jawaharlal

1. J.N. Collection.

22. To Goswami Ganesh Dutt¹

New Delhi
November 24, 1948

My dear Goswamiji,

I give below a message for the laying of the foundation stone ceremony of the Sanatan Dharam College.

About the Gita Jayanti,² I shall gladly attend it, but I fear I am not competent enough to deliver a speech on that occasion. I shall try to come on the 11th December at 3 p.m.

As for visiting the Lakshmi Narain Temple, I suggest Saturday, 4th December at 9. a.m.

Yours sincerely
Jawaharlal Nehru

Message

I send my good wishes on the occasion of the laying of the foundation stone of the Sanatan Dharam College. Although the foundation stone is being laid in Ambala, the institution is an old one with an established reputation. Upheavals and stress of events uprooted it from its original home in Lahore and now it is starting afresh in a new environment. With its past record, there is little doubt that it will take root quickly and continue its good work.

1. J.N. Collection.

2. Nehru visited Gita Bhavan on 11 December and spoke at Gita Jayanti celebration.
See section 1, sub-section 1, item 6.

23. Official Dinners¹

Recently I attended two dinners given to delegates to the International Conference on Civil Aviation at the Government House. I understand that two more dinners are to follow for the remaining delegates of the Conference.

I do not understand on what basis these dinners are organised and guests invited. There is a large number of foreign and Indian delegates and a few other officials and others are thrust in, minus their wives. This means that the same people who are meeting at the conference daily meet at dinner.

I do not think this arrangement is at all satisfactory. When large numbers of delegates come for a conference, it is not necessary or desirable to invite them to dinner *en bloc*, because their very numbers lead to the elimination of others who might be invited and they cannot meet other people in whom they might be interested. The proper course is to give a dinner to a limited number of individuals, that is, the leader of each country's delegation, and a party to all the delegates plus others who might be invited. This will be far more pleasant for all concerned.

The last two dinners I attended were astonishingly dull affairs, partly due to the language difficulty.

I wish you would inform not only the Communications Ministry of this suggestion of mine, but also other ministries. Normally speaking, it is desirable to have women at dinners. I was surprised to learn that even the wives of some of the delegates present were not invited last night, because of some *ad hoc* rule that only men should be invited. This can only be done if the dinner is limited to leaders of delegations.

1. Note to the Principal Private Secretary, 28 November 1948. File No. 2 (296)/48-PMS.

24. To Vijayalakshmi Pandit¹

New Delhi
November 28, 1948

Nan dear,

Your speeches and your general handling of the South West Africa issue have won admiration here. I think you have dealt with this difficult matter with great skill and ability.

1. J.N. Collection.

Bajpai's absence from Delhi, coupled with K.P.S. Menon's absence from illness, has thrown a very heavy burden of work upon me. However, it was important that Bajpai should remain there. His presence has made a difference. I have left it to his discretion to remain there or to come away when he thinks right.

You wrote to me that you were thinking of returning on or about the 9th of December. You will reach here on the eve of the Jaipur Congress. I think you should attend that Congress. I shall provisionally make arrangements for your stay there. The Congress starts I believe, about the 16th of December. It is not necessary for you to stay for all the days.

I have received a letter from Mrs. Roosevelt.² It is to thank me for the roses which were sent to her. I am sending her a reply, which please forward to her.

I am likely to be away from Delhi a good deal in December. First, the Jaipur Congress from the 16th to the 20th. Then I am going on the 24th to Hyderabad and I shall be away for five or six days in Hyderabad and Mysore. Early in January I go to Allahabad for the Science Congress. On the 14th January I go to Calcutta for a State Reception of the Buddha relics from Ceylon. On the 28th January I go to Lucknow to address the University Convocation.

My visit to Hyderabad and Mysore will be very interesting and if you would care to come to it, you would like it.

Yours,
Jawaharlal

2. Eleanor Roosevelt.

25. To Mohanlal Nehru¹

New Delhi
December 2, 1948

My dear Mohan Bhai,

Your letter of the 24th November.²

I have made no promise to Hari or to anyone else. But I certainly wanted him to get some land, as he had been dispossessed from his previous house.

1. File No. 7 (138)/48-PMS.
2. Mohanlal wrote that Harilal had applied for two housing plots and the rules provided that one applicant could be allotted one plot only. He asked whether Nehru had promised fifteen *bighas* of land to Harilal.

SELECTED WORKS OF JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

He has been trying to get this land for many years now without success. I shall be glad if he is given a housing plot. I think you should treat him as any other applicant and give him one plot. I do not know what the size of the plot is, But there appears to be no special reason why more than one plot should be given to him when there must be so many claimants.

Yours affectionately,
Jawaharlal Nehru

26. To Lady Mountbatten¹

New Delhi
December 5, 1948

My dear Lady Mountbatten,

Banerjee² has given me a provisional programme for you when you visit India. It is not much of a programme, but such as it is I give it below:

Delhi	..	3 days
Kurukshtera and Karnal	..	1 day
Jullundur and Hoshiarpur	..	1 day
Other East Punjab Camps	..	2 days
Bombay	..	2 days
West Bengal	..	3 days
Jammu and Srinagar	..	2 days
Total	..	14 days

He further suggests that you might care to visit Madras, Jaipur, U.P., C.P., and the Konark temple in Orissa and Ajanta³ and Ellora.⁴

So much for Banerjee. This means that apart from Delhi about 12 days might be needed to visit the various places mentioned. Srinagar has to be left out as it is difficult to go there in winter. It is possible of course to go there, but then we get held up because of the weather.

1. J.N. Collection.

2. B.N. Banerjee .

3. Site of a group of 29 man-made Buddhist caves excavated in Aurangabad, Maharashtra. These caves, monasteries and meeting halls, dating from 1st -7th century A.D. are hewn in the compact black trap characteristic of the Western Ghats.

4. A village in Aurangabad district of Maharashtra celebrated for its 35 rock cut cave temples in a trap hill, extending more than two kms. These caves, categorised broadly in Buddhist, Brahmanical and Jaina schools, dated from 5th-13th century A.D.

From the point of view of visiting refugee camps etc., there is no particular reason why you should go to Madras, Jaipur, U.P., and C.P. But if you wish to go to any of these places, you would of course be welcomed.

I would myself suggest that after the first two or three days in Delhi you might go to Kurukshetra and East Punjab. That is to say you might spend a week in Delhi and East Punjab to begin with. Jammu would be a day's visit. The only other two places you might have to visit would be Bombay and Calcutta.

The visit to Bombay might include Ajanta and Ellora. The Konark temple in Orissa stands by itself and would require a special visit if you care to go there. I might inform you that Asaf Ali has written to me to convey his invitation to you to Orissa and has drawn up something like a week's programme for you in his province. I am afraid that is not possible. But it would be worthwhile to go to Konark and if you go there, I should like to accompany you as I have not seen the place. I should also like to go to Ajanta and Ellora. But I am not sure if I shall be able to manage it. A Prime Minister must not go sight-seeing too much.

It is difficult to draw up your programme in detail till we know how long you are likely to be in India. Naturally we hope that you will spend a good part of your time in Delhi, not because of any particular attraction in Delhi as a city but as you have many friends here.

As you have yourself suggested, you might stay at Government House to begin with. Later the Prime Minister will be honoured if you choose to be his guest.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

27. To V.K. Krishna Menon¹

New Delhi
December 12, 1948

My dear Krishna,

Vijayalakshmi arrived here today. But I have hardly had time to talk to her. I have been feeling a little dazed with work and worry. This kind of thing will continue at least till the end of this month.

I am enclosing some draft resolutions for the Jaipur Congress. The Working Committee has recommended them. There may be some verbal

1. V.K. Krishna Menon Papers, N.M.M.L.

changes, I think and of course they will have to pass the Subjects Committee. Anyhow these resolutions (which are being released to the press) will give you some idea of the kind of approach that the Working Committee is making to the Congress. I would draw your particular attention to the resolution on Foreign Policy² and Foreign Possessions in India.³

I felt that the question of our association with the Commonwealth should be put forward officially in some vague form before the Congress. The subject was bound to come up and indeed we have received notice of resolutions.

As usual, they are making a tremendous *tamasha* of the Jaipur Congress and spending vast sums of money over it. I am thinking of going there for four days—the first two days the Subjects Committee and two days for the Congress session. I just do not see how we can finish our work in these four days, or rather two so far as the session is concerned. We require at least a week. But quite apart from my personal difficulty of remaining away from Delhi for long, there is much greater difficulty of making arrangements for a vast number of persons. Food runs short and even the water supply gives difficulties.

President Soekarno of Indonesia is expected to come here on the 19th or 20th of this month. I do not know how long he will stay here. We are sending him a plane to fetch him. I am glad he is coming, though the time he has chosen is most inconvenient for me. As I have written to you, I am going to Hyderabad and Mysore on the 24th December.

It surprises me how the U.K. Government as well as the U.S.A. continue to bring pressure on the Indonesian Republic to accept Dutch terms which seem to be completely unacceptable. You will remember that I sent you a telegram on this subject couched in strong terms.⁴

In one of the reports received by me from Paris, the attitude of the U.K. representatives was described as almost openly hostile to India in regard to the Kashmir question. Indeed it was that practically every other country was more or less friendly. I sent an extract from this report to Nye and expressed my regret that the representatives of the U.K. Government should behave in this way, when I knew that Attlee and some of his colleagues did not feel that way at all.

We have fixed Tara's wedding for the 2nd January in Allahabad. Vijaya-lakshmi will return to Moscow sometime late in January.

Yours,
Jawaharlal

2. See *ante*, section 11, sub-section I, item 24.

3. See *ante*, section 11, sub-section IX, item 5.

4. See *ante*, section 11, sub-section IV, item 2.

28. To Khurshed Naoroji¹

New Delhi
December 14, 1948

My dear Bul,

I am so sorry for the delay in answering your letter.²

I should very much like to help you in carrying on the tradition of European music in India. It is true that the atmosphere is not helpful today and our extreme and perverted nationalism is likely to come in the way. Still if I could help you I shall do so.

About the musical instruments in Government House, I have not quite understood what the position is.³ Obviously it will be difficult to give away any of these instruments to private organisations. But surely some other arrangement might be possible.

There is no chance at all of my going to Jamnagar or Kutch during this winter. I have written to the Maharao of Kutch⁴ accordingly.

My address here is Prime Minister's House. Personal letters should be marked on the envelope "FOR HIMSELF".

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. File No. 2 (290)/48-PMS.

2. On 26 November 1948, she wrote to Nehru that "...European culture in India is consistently being sabotaged Hindudom and Indian blackmarketeers' culture must hold sway.... India of our dreams is dead and we can just weep and wait or leave the country."

3. She felt it was not possible to borrow musical instruments lying unused in Government House, Delhi by Bombay Symphony Orchestral Society, even if the Government could lend them.

4. Madansinhji.

29. The Merger of the States¹

The Congress welcomes the developments that have taken place in regard to the States in India, resulting in the ending of the Indian States system which the British Government had built up early in the 19th century. While welcoming this process of integration, merger and union so as to make the States approximate to the Provinces, the Congress trusts that all feudal relics and impediments to the free development of the people will be removed.

1. Resolution drafted by Nehru and passed at the Jaipur Congress on 19 December 1948.
J.N. Collection.

30. Public Conduct of Congressmen¹

Though it is a small matter, yesterday's passage of the amendment² had a serious import and I want to place before the House certain aspects of the matter which the House might not have considered. It would, normally, be wrong for me or any one to bring back to the House for consideration a matter which has been disposed of. I or my colleagues were not present when the amendment was passed and certain aspects of the matter were not placed before the House. I request leave of the House to place them before it.

I feel that acceptance of this amendment confining the resolution to a small group boils down to a motion of censure of the Central Cabinet. I cannot continue to be in the Cabinet if I and my colleagues do not have the confidence of the House.

1. Speech at a meeting of the Subjects Committee of the Jaipur Congress, 19 December 1948. This was convened at Nehru's request to reopen discussion on the resolution on standards of public conduct for Congressmen. From *The Hindustan Times*, 20 December 1948.
2. The original resolution had asked all Congressmen, and especially members of the Central and provincial legislatures to maintain a high standard of public conduct. Mahesh Dutt Misra had moved an amendment which meant the resolution applied more expressly to members of the Cabinet. The resolution, as amended, had been accepted.

If the House wants to censure the Cabinet, it can certainly do so in a precise and definite form. You can bring in a separate resolution instead of doing it in an indirect way. If you do not consider the Cabinet worthy of your confidence you can certainly remove it. But you cannot have it both ways. You will have to choose the one or the other. I want a definite directive from the House even if the discussion continues for days together....³

This is a matter of serious import. It is obviously the duty of members of the Cabinet or members of the Working Committee to set an example and maintain a high standard of conduct. The draft resolution refers to a large body of Congressmen which, unfortunately includes every type of men, good or bad. But if it is sought to be confined to a small group, it is tantamount to a censure of that group. If you say that all members of the provincial and Central legislatures must set an example of high standard of conduct, it is a large body of men, but when you talk of the Cabinet, it means that a particular Cabinet is not worthy of your confidence and you want to pull it up and censure it. You may say that the Prime Minister of India should live up to certain standards and set an example. In this context, it would mean that he is misbehaving and you should pull him up. We cannot go on like this. This is nothing but censure, whether the House intended it or not.

I do not think that the House meant a censure. But this is the real import of the matter. So far as the general policy is concerned, the House has accepted it. Now the House should know whether it disapproves, on personal grounds, of the conduct of those who are in the Cabinet. It is members of the Congress who have formed the Cabinets in the Centre and provinces. I know there are some who have certain grievances against Cabinet Ministers. But this is not the way in which they should ventilate their grievances. If it is done in this way, it will do no good to the Congress or to the working of the Government. This is certainly not a responsible approach to the programme which could be and should be approached in a different way. I therefore, request the House to reopen the matter.

If the House agrees to reopen the discussions on the resolution, I would suggest to the House not to accept the amendment of Mr. Misra.

I ask the House to permit this question to be reopened.

I should know in what manner we are going to behave in this House. So far as my Government is concerned, we are completely at your disposal. We cannot work if we are slogged and cursed. We must have the support of the House. It is quite clear that we cannot carry on unless we have your support. We are faced with tremendous problems. Are we going to have your full support or not? The point is whether we are going to pull together in an idealistic and noble way or whether we are going to talk tall. I want a

3. At this point, when some members intervened to enquire if there was a precedent to the reopening of the issue, Nehru replied in the affirmative : "Of course, there are."

clear guidance. I want to know where we stand. A number of amendments and speeches were made which were nonsensical for those who spoke did not know the implications of the problems before us. That showed we have no realization of the responsibility of the Government ?

I must have the clear guidance of the House. The resolution is not fair to the House, to the Congress and most of all it is not fair to the Cabinet Ministers.⁴

There are some members of the House who dislike the provincial or Central Governments. They have every right to dislodge them and move a censure motion. But it should be done precisely. I do not object to condemnation or censure, but you must come to a decision. It is not fair to the Government, public or Congress, if it comes as a side issue without a full realization of the issues involved. If it is condemnation let it be argued and passed; but as an indirect method it is unfair to the people concerned.

4. By an overwhelming majority the House adopted Nehru's amendment to delete the mention in the resolution "of the members of the legislature and specially Cabinet ministers." The amended clause read : "All Congressmen must set an example in all such matters and maintain a high standard of conduct."

GLOSSARY

Azad	free, independent
Bigha	approximately five-eighths of an acre
Char	alluvial landmass created by a course changing river
Dargah	tomb of a Muslim saint
Devanagari	script adopted for Hindi, Sanskrit and some other Indian languages
Firman	royal edict or command
Gita	A Hindu scripture
Gurdwara	a Sikh temple
Haj	pilgrimage to Mecca
Ilaqa	area, region
Jagir	rent-free land granted by the government as a reward
Jai Hind	victory to India
Jayanti	birth anniversary
Khwaja	Muslim mystic
Kisan	peasant
Kukti	a cotton plant yielding cotton of rosy colour
Mela	a fair, fete
Moharrum	a Muslim festival
Musafirkhana	inn
Pandit	a learned person
Patwari	a village record-keeper
Sanatan Dharma	orthodox Hindu religion
Sardar	chief
Sarf-e-khas	Nizam's private land
Satyagraha	truth force or soul force
Seva Dal	service corps
Sherwani	long coat
Swami	a religious leader
Tamasha	amusement
Tehsil	a sub-division of a district
Tehsildar	a revenue collector in a <i>tehsil</i>
Tirth or Teerth	a place of pilgrimage
Urs	death anniversary of a Muslim saint
Zamindari	landlord's estate

INDEX

(Biographical footnotes in this volume and in the volumes
in the first series are italicised and those in the
Second Series given in block letters.)

- Abdullah, S.M., (*Vol. 7, p. 303*), 38, 47, 62 & fn, 73, 81-82, 84, 88, 338
- Abyssinia *see* Ethiopia
- Achhru Ram, 196 & *fn*-197, 200
- Achilles*, H.M.S., 259 fn
- Afghanistan, 413 fn, 417
- Afghans, 417
- Africa, 233, 292, 327, 412 fn —, British East, 412 fn —, South *see* South Africa —, South West *see* Namibia
- Agra, 328 & fn
- Ahmed, Enver, 439 & *fn*
- Ahmedabad, 437
- Airplane Design-Aerodynamics* (Edward Pearson Warner, 1927), 320 fn
- Ajanta, 448-449, Frescoes of, 262
- Akalis, 126 fn, 196
- Akbar, Emperor, 328 fn
- Akhnoor, 76
- Akhwatu* (Khilafatist paper), 102 fn
- Alagappan, S.C., 225 & *fn*, 376-377, 378 & fn
- Algiers, 319
- Ali, Mir Laik, (*VOL. 5, P. 284*), 114 —, Mir Osman (Nizam of Hyderabad), (*VOL. 1, P. 291*), 93 & *fn*, 95 & *fn*-97 & *fn*, 98-100, 101 & *fn*, 105, 114-115, 116 & *fn*, 237, 248, 286, 313 fn
- Aligarh Muslim University, 103 fn, 352 fn
- All India Congress Committee, 26, 195, 205 fn; Economic Programme Committee of, 26
- All India Hindu Mahasabha *see* Hindu Mahasabha, All India
- All India Institute of Hygiene and Public Health (Calcutta), 15 fn
- All India Muslim League *see* Muslim League, All India
- All India Railwaymen's Federation, 239 fn ; General Council of, 24 fn
- All India Spinners' Association (A.I.S.A.), 27 fn
- All India States People's Conference *see* States People's Conference
- All India Village Industries Association (A.I.V.I.A.), 27 fn
- All India Women's Conference, *see* Women's Conference, All India
- All Jammu and Kashmir National Conference *see* National Conference (Kashmir)
- Allahabad, 254, 269, 439, 447, 450
- Allahabad High Court, 166 fn, 197 fn
- Allapichai, A.M., (*VOL. 7, P. 10*), 112
- Alwar, 127, 155
- Ambala, 135 & *fn*, 445
- Ambedkar, B.R., (*Vol. 5, p. 299*), 166, 174 fn, 185 fn-186 & *fn*, 187, 259
- America, South, 296-297, 332
- Amherst Street (Calcutta), 227 fn
- Amin, Nurul, 143 fn
- Amrit Kaur, (*Vol. 11, p. 274*), 151 & *fn*, 209 & *fn*, 408
- Amtul Salam, (*VOL. 6, P. 107*), 155
- Anand Parbat (New Delhi), 146, 151
- Andhra Pradesh, 395 ; High Court of, 103 fn
- Angkor (Kampuchea), 5 & *fn*
- Angkor Wat (Kampuchea), 5 *fn*
- Anjuman Taraqqi Urdu (Urdu Academy), 102 fn, 157
- Ansari, M.A., (*Vol. 1, p. 110*), 103, 156-157 —, Mohammad Ahammad, 103 & *fn*, 108

SELECTED WORKS OF JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

- , Zohra, 157 fn
Answers to Questions (H. Pollitt), 216 fn
Antara (Republic of Indonesia's News Agency), 373 fn, 377 fn
Anti-Fascist People's Freedom League (A.F.P.F.L., Burma), 393 fn
Antoinette monoplane, 321 fn
Ape and Essence (Aldous Huxley), 441
Arab countries, 413 fn
Arab League, 275 fn, 310, 319
Arabs, 101, 233, 275 fn, 319, 407, 411
Argentina, 70, 230 fn, 253 fn
Arjumand Banu Begum (Mumtaj Mahal), 328 fn
Asaf Ali, Aruna, (*Vol. 12, p. 494*), 442
—, M., (*Vol. 6, p. 42*), 434, 442, 449
Ashraf (Princess of Iran), 85 & fn
Asia, 19, 174-175, 179, 223, 232-233, 276-277, 280-282, 285, 288-289, 291-292, 295-297, 302, 306-307, 316, 323-324, 327, 329, 331, 333, 335 & fn, 340-342, 374, 377, 381, 383, 413, 415 fn, 425-426; countries of, 282, 413 & fn
—, Central, 48, 316
—, East, 322
—, Far East, 237, 277, 415 fn
—, South, 308, 322-323
—, South East, 224-225, 231, 237, 247 & fn, 250-251, 275, 277, 295-296, 301-302, 308, 316, 322-324, 329, 335, 337, 378, 381-382, 414 fn
—, West, 104, 277, 282, 285, 295-296, 319-320, 322-324, 414 fn
Asian Relations Conference (1947), 307, 318
“Asian Union”, 282
Asiatic Land Tenure and Indian Representation Act (South Africa), 246 fn
Assam, 9 fn, 347, 393
Associated Press of India, 311 fn
Atlantic Ocean, 304 fn
Atomic Energy Commission, 192
Attlee, C.R., (*Vol. 15, p. 109*), 41-42, 46-49, 51 & fn-52, 71, 77, 94, 96, 245 fn-246 fn, 247 & fn-248 & fn, 249-250 & fn, 252, 256-257 & fn, 259-260 & fn, 261-262 fn, 263 & fn-264 fn, 265 & fn-266, 269 fn-270 & fn, 271 & fn-272, 306, 339, 359, 368-369, 378, 399-400, 402, 450
Attock fort, 353
Aundh State, 412 fn
Aurangabad, 103 fn, 106 fn-107, 448 fn
Auriol, Vincent, 246 & fn, 423 & fn
Australia, 237 & fn, 247 fr, 249 fn, 295 fn, 304 fn, 374 fn-375; Government of, 402
Austria, 233 fn
Autobiography, An, (Jawaharlal Nehru), 321 fn
Aviation (journal), 320
Ayot St. Lawrence (London), 433 fn
Ayyangar, N. Gopalaswami, (*Vol. 15, p. 248*), 41-42, 94-95, 191, 261, 267, 348, 423, 443
Ayyar, T.G.N., 199 fn
Azad, Abul Kalam, (*Vol. 1, p. 353*), 193 & fn-194, 414 & fn
“Azad Hind”, provisional government of, 225 fn
“Azad Kashmir”, 47, 61, 67-68
Bagh, 83 fn, 86
Baghdad, 324
Bahuvistar (Kapur Singh), 197 fn
Bajpai, G.S., (*Vol. 15, p. 568*), 44 & fn, 50-54, 56-58, 59 & fn-60, 61, 63-64, 65 & fn, 67 & fn, 69 fn-70, 71-72 & fn, 73-74, 76 & fn, 89, 111 & fn-113 & fn, 214 & fn, 248 & fn, 251 & fn, 257, 265 fn, 300 & fn, 345, 373 & fn, 411, 424 & fn, 439, 447
Bakhle, D.S., 100 & fn, 104
Bali, 378 fn
Baltal, 85
Baltistan, 47, 286
Baluchistan, 208 fn
Bandjar, 374 fn
Banerjee, B.N., 448 & fn
Banerji, S.K., 304 & fn
Banka, 225 fn, 374 fr
Basith, M.A., 106 fn, 113 fn
Basu, S.K., 228
Batavia *see* Jakarta
Bayon (Angkor, Kampuchea), 5 fn
Beleghata (Calcutta), 227 fn
Belgium, 59 fn, 303 fn, 381 fn
Belitung, 225 fn, 374 fn
Bengal, Bay of, 434 fn
Bengal, East, 9 & fn, 43, 143 & fn, 149-150, 152, 157-158, 159 & fn, 226-228, 237-238, 286-287, 345 & fn, 348, 410; Government of, 152, 228
—, West, 9 fn, 43, 103, 128 fn, 143, 150 & fn-151, 152, 226-227, 237, 286-287, 345, 347-350, 415, 448; Government

- of, 143, 150 & fn, 345 fn
 Bengal and Assam Railway, 347 fn
 Berendsen, Carl August, 374 & fn
 Beri Pattan Bridge (Jammu), 76
 Berlin, 224, 230 & fn, 284 & fn, 321 fn; West, 284 fn
 Bernadotte, Count, (VOL 7, P. 362), 275 & fn
 Bernadotte Plan for Palestine, 275 & fn
 Bevin, Ernest, (VOL. 2, P. 472), 41–42, 281, 389 & fn, 407
 Bey, Abdur Rahman Azzam, (VOL. 2, P. 518), 275, 310
 ——, Ismail Kamal, 310, 414 & fn
 Bhagavan Das, (*Vol. 5, p. 245*), 121 & fn
 Bhandarkar, V.P., 347 & fn
 Bharatpur, 127, 155
 Bhargava, Gopichand, (*Vol. 4, p. 178*), 128, 133, 135 & fn, 152, 218
 Bhatia, Lt. Col. D., 208 fn
 Bhatnagar, S.S., (VOL. 2, P. 605), 35–36, 370
 Bhatt, Gokulbhai, (*Vol. 15, p. 440*), 384
 Bhave, Vinoba, (VOL. 5, P. 74), 155
 Bhir, 103 fn, 106 fn
 Bhopal, 444
 Bhutan, 412 fn
 Bidar, 103 fn, 106 fn–107 & fn
 Bihar, 32–33, 128 fn, 163 fn–164 & fn, 194; Government of, 32 fn, 165, 194, 198 fn–199 fn, 206 fn; Secretariat of, 200 & fn; Judicial Department of, 199
 Bihar Abolition of Zamindari Bill, 32 & fn–33, 288
 Bihar Provincial Congress Committee, 205 fn
 Bikaner, 132
 Birbal's House (Fatehpur Sikri), 328 fn
 Bleriot, Louis, 321 & fn
 Bois de Boulogne (Paris), 432
 Bolivia, 233 fn
Bombay Chronicle Weekly (Bombay), 211 fn
 Bombay city, 164, 219 & fn, 226 fn, 241, 246, 254–255, 366, 408, 448–449
 Bombay province, 96, 104, 108 fn, 188 fn; Government of, 218
 Bombay Symphony Orchestral Society, 451 fn
 Borneo; East, 374 fn; South East, 374 fn; West, 225 fn, 374 fn
 Brahmanical school, 448 fn
 Bramuglia, J.A., 230 fn
 Brazil, 303 fn
 Britain, 2, 36 fn, 45 fn–46, 48, 70–71 & fn, 96–97 fn, 103, 116, 130, 156, 178–179, 191 fn–192, 203, 205–206 fn, 211, 216 & fn–217, 220, 224–225, 229, 233 fn, 235, 245 fn, 247 fn–248 fn, 249 & fn–250, 251–252, 258 fn–259, 260–261, 264 & fn–265, 266–268, 272, 276, 280, 283, 285, 287, 295–296, 298–299, 303 fn–304 fn, 305, 314, 316, 321, 323, 327, 331, 333–334, 337, 339–340, 352 fn, 357 & fn, 360–362, 364–365, 367–368 fn, 369–370, 374, 377, 381 & fn–382, 399 & fn–400, 402–403, 409, 412 fn, 416, 431 fn–433, 435, 441, 450
 British Broadcasting Corporation (B.B.C.), 318
 British Cabinet, 192
 British Commonwealth of Nations, 25 fn, 72, 77, 94, 96, 178–179, 223–224, 235–236, 238, 245–248, 249 & fn–250, 251 & fn–252, 253–254 & fn, 255–256 & fn, 257 & fn–258, 259–261, 262 & fn–265 & fn, 266–268, 269 & fn–270 & fn, 279, 281, 283, 285, 295–296, 305, 315–316, 327, 331–334, 339–342, 365, 399 fn–400 & fn, 401–403; Committee of, 17; Governments of, 247, 250–251 fn
 British Government, 8, 51, 71, 77, 97, 217, 224–225 fn, 232 fn, 247 & fn, 251, 253, 258 & fn, 262 fn, 270, 279, 296, 298, 307, 313, 316, 329–330, 340, 357, 359, 362 & fn, 365, 368, 370, 374, 379–380 & fn, 381–382, 393, 399–403, 450, 452; proposed Industrial Policy Legislation of, 367
 British House of Commons, 399, 402
 British Nationality Act (1948), 249, 251, 263, 266, 403
 British Overseas Airways Corporation (B.O.A.C.), 156 & fn
 British Security Service, 369 & fn
 Broadlands (Britain), 36 fn, 211, 358–359, 432
 Brook, Edwin, 63 fn
 Brussels, 352 & fn
 Bucher, F.R.R., (VOL. 1, P. 76), 50 & fn, 64, 87
 Buckingham Palace (London), 432
 Buddha, Gautam, 5
 Buddhist caves, 448 fn
 Buddhist school, 448 fn
 Buland Darwaza (Fatehpur Sikri), 328 fn

SELECTED WORKS OF JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

- Bunch of Old Letters, A, (Jawaharlal Nehru), 416 fn
Bunche, R.J., 319 & fn
Buria, 127, 134 & fn-135, 155
Burma, 65 fn, 231-232, 233 fn-234 & fn, 235, 247, 251 fn, 276-277, 301, 304 fn, 315, 317, 335-337, 393 & fn-394, 395-396 & fn, 414 fn; Karen Movement in, 336; People's Volunteer Organisation of, 393 fn; Government of, 234 & fn, 276, 337, 394-396 ; Land Nationalisation Act (1948) cf, 234 & fn, 394-395
- Cabinet (Indian), 28 & fn-29, 30-31, 33, 96, 124 fn, 127 fn, 144, 148, 152-153 & fn, 175-182, 183 & fn, 185-186 & fn, 192 & fn-193, 194 & fn-195, 200, 203, 208 fn, 210, 212-213 & fn, 215-216, 226, 238, 251-253, 254 fn-255, 256, 262 fn, 267, 296, 300, 367, 376, 409-410 fn, 443, 452 & fn-453, 454 & fn; Priorities Committee of, 30-31, 193 & fn, 239 ; Statistical Unit of, 29
- Cabinet Secretariat, 30-31; Economic and Statistical Coordination Section of, 30-31 ; Standing Committee of Departmental Statisticians of, 30
- Cadogan, Alexander G.M., 71 & fn, 74, 271 & fn
- Cairo, 96, 223, 246 & fn, 275 & fn, 295 fn -296 fn, 298, 310, 319, 376-377, 411
- Calais, 321 fn
- Calcutta, 9 fn, 15 fn-16, 30 fn, 188 fn, 220 227, 241, 255, 301-302, 347, 350, 415 fn, 431-432, 447, 449
- , North, 227 fn
- , High Court, 197 fn, 415 fn
- Calcutta University, 304 fn, 415 fn; Law College of, 415 fn
- Canada, 16 fn, 59 fn, 111 fn, 249 fn, 276, 352 fn, 359 ; Government of, 253-254 fn, 402
- Canberra, 376
- Cariappa, K.M., (VOL. 2, P. 376), 85 fn, 154
- Central Board of Irrigation (New Delhi), 18 & fn, 23-24
- Central Board of Revenue, 350
- Central Institute for Medicinal and Aromatic Plants (Jammu and Srinagar), 15 fn
- Central Pay Commission *see* Pay Commission
- Central Provinces, 104, 108 fn, 448-449
- Central Statistical Organisation (C.S.O.), 28 fn, 154 fn; Standing Committee of Departmental Statisticians of, 28 & fn -29, 30
- Chakravarty, Amiya C., (Vol. 6, p. 292), 441
- Chamberlain, Lord, 366
- Chand, Gyan. (Vol. 15, p. 473), 28 & fn, 30-31, 153
- Chanda, Asok Kumar, (VOL. 5, P. 221), 431 & fn
- Chandanagore, 309
- Charles, Prince of Wales, 366 & fn
- Chars, 347
- Chashma Shahi house (Srinagar), 85
- Chaudhury, J.N., (Vol. 15, p. 58), 100, 104, 106 fn-107, 109-110 fn, 113-115, 117-118
- Chen Yi, 379 fn
- Chetty, R.K. Shanmukham, (Vol. 6, p. 303), 350
- Chetwode, Philip, 4 fn
- Chetwode Hall (I.M.A., Dehra Dun), 4 fn
- Chiang Kai-shek, (Vol. 10, p. 74), 368, 416-417
- China, Communist, 230-231, 416-417; Eighth Route Army of, 416 fn; Indian Medical Mission (1938) to, 416 & fn
- , Nationalist, 68, 224 & fn, 230-232, 285, 296, 289, 303 fn, 316, 318, 324-325, 329, 335-336, 368, 379 & fn, 381 & fn, 416 & fn; Kuomintang Government of, 329, 335-336, 379 fn, 381 fn, 416 ; Social Democrats of, 244 fn
- , North, 224
- China Seas, 304 fn
- Chishti, Salim, *dargah* of, 328 fn
- Chishtia order, 134 fn
- Chitral, 286
- Churchill, Winston, (Vol. 4, p. 52), 311, 432
- Cloak Without Dagger (Percy Sillitoe), 369 fn
- Cochran, H. Merle, 379 fn, 381 fn-382 fn
- Colaba (Bombay), 218
- Colombia, 70
- Commerce, Ministry of, 191, 207
- Commonwealth Economic Committee, 352 fn
- Commonwealth Liaison Committee, 247 fn
- Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference (11-22 October 1948, London), 41, 94, 96, 178, 245 & fn-246 fn, 247, & fn, 250-251, 254-255, 275, 300, 305,

- 312 fn, 357 fn, 359, 389, 393, 400, 433 fn
 Commonwealth Relations (Office), 69 fn, 380
 Communications, Ministry of, 446
 Communist Party (British), 216 & fn
 Communist Party (Chinese), 416 fn
 Communist Party (Malaysian), 278 fn
 Communist Party of India, 301–303
 Communists, 25, 105 & fn, 216, 218, 224 & fn, 231, 275–277, 278 & fn, 287, 301–302, 316–318, 335–336, 368, 378–379 fn, 393 & fn, 416–417
 Communists (British), 216, 287
 Communists (Burmese), 276, 317, 393 & fn
 Communists (Chinese), 224 & fn, 231, 316, 335–336, 368, 379 fn, 416–417
 Communists (Indian), 25, 105 & fn, 218, 301–302, 335
 Communists (Indonesian), 224 & fn, 276, 318, 378
 Communists (Malaysian), 277–278 & fn, 317
 Communists (Malaysian Chinese), 278
 Communists (South East Asian), 275–276, 301
 Congo, 319 fn
 Congress, Indian National, 6 fn, 8–9, 10 & fn, 25 & fn–26, 67, 107 fn, 109, 124 fn, 126 fn, 128–129, 131, 133 & fn, 135–137, 157 & fn–158, 159, 169, 195 & fn, 205 fn–206 fn, 220 fn, 230, 240 & fn, 252–253, 255, 260, 268, 271, 288, 325, 333–334, 341, 383 fn – 384 & fn, 385, 394–395, 416 fn, 419 & fn, 426, 434, 437–439, 449, 454; Subjects Committee of, 271, 331 fn, 339, 384 fn, 425 fn, 450, 452; Working Committee of, 184, 253, 270, 331 fn, 439, 449–450, 453; Jaipur session of, 6 fn, 10 & fn–11, 25 fn–26 & fn, 27 & fn–28 & fn, 67, 128, 136 fn, 157, 230, 261, 269, 325 fn, 331 fn 339–340, 341 & fn–342, 383 fn–384 & fn, 419 & fn, 425 fn–427 fn, 439, 442, 447, 449–450, 452 & fn; Reception Committee of, 384, 442 ; Lahore session of, (December 1929), 133 & fn
 Congress Parliamentary Party, 395 fn
 Congress Working Committee, 184, 253, 270, 331 fn
 Congressmen, 333, 452 & fn–453, 454 fn
 Constituent Assembly of India, 132–133, 240 & fn, 245 ; Minorities Committee of, 133, 240 fn
 Constituent Assembly of India, (Legislative), 65 fn, 67, 125, 132–133, 165–166 fn, 167, 173 fn–174 fn, 176, 178–179, 183–184, 188 & fn, 203–204, 205 fn, 207–208, 210, 220, 223, 230, 238, 245, 252–256, 260–261, 266, 268, 271–272, 296, 306, 312, 333, 357, 366, 399–400, 439
 Constitution (British), 182
 Constitution (Indian), 122–123 & fn, 124 fn–125, 127, 166 & fn–167 fn, 178–181, 197–198, 200–201, 203, 210, 214–216, 197–198, 200–201, 203, 210, 214–216, 238–239, 245, 248–249, 255, 257 fn–258 fn, 261–262 fn, 264 fn–265 & fn, 266–268, 269 fn, 272, 288, 418 fn; Directive Principles of, 186 fn ; Drafting Committee for, 174 fn, 179, 199
 —, Draft, 123, 167, 173–174 & fn, 175–176, 182–183 & fn, 185 & fn–186, 187, 238, 248, 266, 295 ; Objectives Resolution of, 173, 175–176, 178–180, 252, 306
 Constitution Committee, provincial, 181 & fn
 —, Union (Central), 181 & fn
 Costello, J.A., 399 & fn – 400, 401 & fn–402
 Crillon Hotel (Paris), 99
Crimes in International Relations (Radha Binod Pal, 1955), 415 fn
 Cripps, Stafford, (Vol. 7, p. 471), 41–42, 45 fn, 71, 77, 97, 262 fn, 271, 276 fn, 280, 335 & fn, 338 fn, 357 fn–358, 359, 400
 Cuba, 233 fn, 413 fn
 Czechoslovakia, 16 fn, 325, 407 & fn; Government of, 407
 Dacca see Dhaka
 Dail Eirean, 399 fn, 401 & fn, 403
Daily Telegraph (London), 345
 Dakota aircraft, 375 fn
 Daryaganj (Delhi), 156
 Das, Durga, 311 & fn
Dawn (Karachi), 43, 96 & fn, 99 & fn, 105 & fn, 248, 439,
Dawn and Achievement of Freedom in India (R.T. Parthasarathy) (Salem, 1953), 442 fn
 Dayak, Greater, 374 fn
 de Gaulle, Gen. Charles, (Vol. 14, p. 28), 424
 Defence, Ministry of, Air Section of, 86
 Defence Research Policy Committee, 17

SELECTED WORKS OF JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

- Dehra Dun, 4 fn, 88
Delhi, 3, 9, 43, 67, 74, 81, 83 fn-84, 89, 96, 101, 115, 121, 123, 125-126 & fn, 128 & fn-129, 134, 141 fn, 146 fn-147, 148, 151-152, 155 fn, 157, 165, 219, 226 & fn, 254-255, 269, 272, 275, 304, 312 fn, 339, 359, 366, 377, 384, 396, 408, 414 fn, 431, 433, 435 fn-436, 439 fn, 442, 447-450, 451 fn *see also* New Delhi
Delhi Provincial Conference of Social Work, 3 fn
Delvoi, Maurice, 59 fn
Denmark, 253 fn
Desai, Dhirajlal Bhulabhai, (*Vol. 11, p. 665*), 298
—, Janardan Rao, 117 fn
Dewey, Thomas E., 2 & fn
Dey, S.K., (*VOL. 6, P. 96*), 145 & fn, 147 & fn-148
Dhaka, 228
Dhanbad, 163 & fn-164; courts of, 163 & fn
Dharma Vira, (*VOL. 6, P. 395*), 147
Digvijaysinhji, Jam Shree (Maharaja of Nawanagar), 191, 299
Dikshit, Uma Shankar, (*VOL. 5, P. 147*), 157 & fn
Doulatram, Jairamdas, (*Vol. 4, p. 136*), 36-37 & fn, 38, 208 & fn, 210
Dover, 321 fn
Doyle, Arthur Conan, 211 fn
Dras, 48 & fn, 225
Dublin, 401 fn
Dulles, J.F., (*VOL. 1, P. 572*), 432
Durga Das, *see* Das, Durga
Durr-e-Shavar, 96 & fn
Dutt, Goswami Ganesh, (*VOL. 5, P. 147*), 445
Easter, 401 fn
E.B. Railway, 347 fn
Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East (E.C.A.F.E.), Asian Regional meeting of *see* United Nations Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East
Economist, The, (London), 432
Education, Ministry of, 191, 193 & fn-194 & fn
Egypt *see* United Arab Republic
Eire, 235, 250, 271, 316 & 399-400, 401 & fn-403 ; Government of, 235, 399-400, 402-403; Constitution of (1937), 402
Eire Act *see* Ireland, Republic of, Bill of
Eisenhower, Dwight David, (*Vol. 14, p. 28*), 45 fn, 59 fn
El Khouri, Faris Bey, 74, 111 fn
El Salvador, 233 fn
Ellora, 448-449
Elmhirst, T.W., (*VOL. 3, P. 315*), 86
Engineer, Noshirwan P., 288 & fn
England *see* Britain
English Channel, 321 & fn
Epstein, Jacob, (*VOL. 1, P. 143*), 262 & fn
Ethiopia, 233 fn, 325
Etmad-ud-Daula, 328 & fn
Europe, 15-16, 25, 122, 130, 223-224, 230, 239, 276, 282, 284, 288-289, 291-293, 305, 323, 331, 381, 399, 433-434
—, West, 251 fn, 276 & fn, 284 fn, 323, 357, 382 fn
European Economic Cooperation, Organisation for, 399 fn
European Recovery Programme, 250-251 fn, 382 fn
Evatt, H.V., (*VOL. 2, P. 57*), 256 & fn, 265, 270 fn, 295 & fn, 360, 374 fn, 389 & fn
External Affairs, Ministry of, 44 fn, 63 fn, 95, 191, 207, 219, 299 fn, 393, 408-409
Farouk, King of Egypt, (*VOL. 6, P. 474*), 411
Fatehpur Sikri, 328 & fn
Fatima (Princess of Iran), 85 & fn
Fazal, Cyril P.K., 417
Federal Court of India *see* Supreme Court of India
Federal Public Service Commission, 35-36, 145, 208 & fn-209, 212-213 & fn; Selection Board of, 144-145, 212 fn
Fellow of Royal College of Surgeons (F.R.C.S.) *see* Royal College of Surgeons, Fellow of
Ferguson, H.G., 36 & fn-37
Ferozepur, 126-127
Finance, Ministry of, 146-147, 359 fn
Firangi Mahal, 102 fn
Food, Ministry of, 228
France, 298, 303 fn; 308-309, 352 fn, 370, 381 fn, 423 & fn-424, 432, 435, 441; Government of, 308-310, 330, 381, 423; Cabinet of, 423; Royal Palace of *see* Louvre; territories in India of, 308-310, 423
Frankfurt, 321
Frankfurter, Felix, 59 & fn
Fraser, Peter, 256 & fn, 270 fn
Friederickshafen (Lake Constance), 321 fn

- From Purdah to Parliament* (S.S. Ikramullah, 1963), 352 fn
- Gadgil, N.V., (*Vol. 3, p. 68*), 154 fn
- Ganapathy, K., 15 & *fn*
- Gandhi, Devadas, (*Vol. 1, p. 260*), 65, 70, 214 & *fn*
- , Indira, (*Vol. 1, p. 232*), 85, 432, 439
- , Mahatma, 2, 5–11, 25 & *fn*, 35, 84, 123, 127–128 *fn*, 129, 134 & *fn*, 136–137, 155–157, 195 *fn*, 228, 288–289, 293, 326, 332, 334, 350, 361–362, 364, 438 *fn*
- Gandhinagar *see* Jaipur
- Ganga river, 194 *fn*
- Ganga kings, 434 *fn*
- Geneva, 393
- George VI, (*VOL. 6, P. 474*), 98, 213, 215, 236, 249, 256 *fn*–258 *fn*, 262 *fn*–263 & *fn*, 264 & *fn*–265 *fn*, 266, 269 & *fn*–270, 366, 400–401 *fn*, 402
- Germany, 216 *fn*, 251, 284 & *fn*; West, 284 *fn*, 352 *fn*
- Ghaffar, K.M. Abdul, 102 & *fn*, 106 *fn*, 113 *fn*
- Ghosh, N.C., (*VOL. 7, P. 484*), 320 & *fn*
- Gilani, Beltie Shah, (*Vol. 5, p. 352*), 211 & *fn*
- Gilgit, 49, 286
- Gita, 5–6
- Gita Bhawan (New Delhi), 5 *fn*, 445 *fn*
- Gita Jayanti, 5 *fn*, 445 & *fn*
- Goa, 93 & *fn*
- Godavari, West (district), 34, *fn*, 288 & *fn*
- Goddard, John, 435
- Gold Coast, 368 *fn*
- Golwalkar, M.S., 122, 288 & *fn*
- Gorakhpur, 166 *fn*
- Government of India Act (1935), Section 299 of, 32 *fn*
- Gracey, D.D., (*VOL. 5, P. 260*), 66
- Graeffe, Egbert, 44 *fn*
- , Harry, 44 & *fn*
- Greece, 323
- Gujarat, 128 *fn*
- Gujrat (Pakistan), 73
- Gulbarga, 103 *fn*, 106 *fn*
- Gupta, G.S., (*Vol. 14, p. 102*), 167 & *fn*–168 & *fn*, 181, 183 *fn*
- Gurdaspur, 126
- Gurgaon, 124 *fn*–125, 127–128, 155
- Gurney, H.L.G., 368 & *fn*
- Habib, Mohamma Nasim, (*Vol. 1, p. 261*), 299 & *fn*
- Haffkine, W.M.W., 15 *fn*
- Haffkine Institute (Bombay), 15 & *fn*
- Hague, the, 262 *fn*
- Haj (pilgrims), 410 & *fn*
- Haj Committee, Central, 410 *fn*
- Hands Off Russia Movement (British), 216 *fn*
- Hangchow (China), 318
- Harilal, (*Vol. 4, p. 533*), 447 & *fn*
- Harries, A.T., 197 & *fn*
- Harrow, 96
- Harvard, 319 *fn*
- Harvard Law School, 59 *fn*
- Harwell (U.K.), 340
- Hashish (Kapur Singh), 197 *fn*
- Hatsir, Mohammad, 376 *fn*
- Hatta, Mohammad, (*Vol. 3, p. 129*), 372 & *fn*–374, 375 & *fn*, 379 *fn*, 382
- Health, Ministry of, 209
- Heathrow airport (London), 357 *fn*
- Himalayas, 4, 19
- Hind Maz loor Panchayat, 436 *fn*
- Hind Samachar (Jalandhar), 133 *fn*
- Hindu Mahasabha, All India, 124 ; Working Committee of, 124 & *fn*
- “Hindu State”, 287
- Hindustan Antibiotics (Pimpri), 15 *fn*
- Hindustan Times, The, 65, 214 *fn*–215, 311 *fn*, 439
- Hiran Minar (Fatehpur Sikri), 328 *fn*
- Home, Ministry of, 122, 128–129, 210, 217, 366 *fn*, 369, 417–418 *fn*
- Hong Kong, 304 *fn*, 368
- Hoshiarpur, 126, 133 *fn*, 196, 448
- Hossain, Syud, (*Vol. 13, p. 691*), 298, 411 & *fn*
- How to Win the Peace (H. Pollitt), 216 *fn*
- How to Win the War (H. Pollitt), 216 *fn*
- Howard University (Washington D.C., U.S.A.), 319 *fn*
- Hungary, 255 *fn* ; Government of, 255
- Husain, Masood, (*Vol. 8, p. 199*), 163 & *fn*
- , Zakir, (*Vol. 3, p. 67*), 103
- Hussain, Azim, (*VOL. 1, P. 471*), 414 & *fn*
- , Javad, 208 *fn*
- , Zahid, (*VOL. 4, P. 59*), 43 & *fn*, 102
- Huxley, Aldous, (*Vol. 5, p. 510*), 441
- Hydari, Akbar, (*VOL. 3, P. 5*), 286
- Hyderabad city, 107
- Hyderabad State, 43, 54 *fn*, 58, 69, 72, 93

- & fn-96 & fn, 97-98, 99 & fn-100, 101 & fn-102 & fn, 103-104, 105 & fn-106 & fn, 107-109, 110 & fn-113 & fn, 114-115, 116 & fn-117, 248, 254, 269, 285-287, 297, 312 & fn-313, 314, 338, 357, 359, 411, 418, 439, 447 ; Government of, 102, 105, 115-116, 237 ; forces of, 114 ; Laik Ali Ministry of, 114 ; Military Administration of, 114-115 ; Police Action in, 115 ; Standstill Agreement with (29 November 1947), 313 & fn
- Hyderabad High Court, 103 fn
- Hyderabad House (New Delhi), 95 & fn
- Hyderabad Municipal Corporation, 107 fn
- Hyderabad Railway, 95
- Hyderabad Refugee Rehabilitation Fund, 108 fn
- Hyderabad State Congress, 105, 110 fn, 117 & fn-118 ; District Committees of, 117 fn
- Ienger, H.V.R., (VOL. 2, P. 192), 301, 431
- Ikramullah, Mohammad, 352 & fn
- , Shaista S., 352 & fn
- Iltutmish, 134 fn
- Income-Tax Investigation Commission, 437 & fn
- India, British Government of, 228
- India, Government of, 4, 15, fn, 19-20, 25-26 & fn, 27 fn-28 fn, 29-31, 32 & fn-33, 45 fn, 55 & fn-56 fn, 61-62, fn 65, 74 fn, 84, 88, 93 fn, 95 & fn, 97 fn, 99 fn, 112 fn, 116 & fn, 122, 125, 128 & fn-129, 131, 133-135, 146-147, 149-150, 151 fn-152, 153, 156, 158-160, 174, 176, 178, 185-186 fn, 187-188 fn, 191 fn, 193 fn-194 fn, 195 & fn, 203, 209, 212 fn, 214 fn-215, 217, 220, 225 & fn-226, 232, 234 & fn-235, 238, 240 & fn, 245, 249-252, 266, 282-283, 286-287 fn, 288, 294, 298, 304, 306, 308-310, 312-313 & fn, 325, 331, 335, 358-359, 367, 375-376 fn, 381-382, 389, 393 fn-394, 395 & fn, 400-401, 403, 407, 414-415, 418, 436, 438, 453-454; Intelligence Bureau of, 267
- India, French possessions in, 308-310 ; Grand Master of, 213-214; Nationality Act of, 263, 266, 269; Portuguese possessions in, 310
- , Seal of, Crest in, 183 & fn
- , South, 308, 394
- , Star of, 213-214
- India—the new Great Power (an article in *The Economist*), 432
- India from Curzon to Nehru and After (Durga Das), 311 fn
- India House (London), 1 fn, 95, 206-207, 297-298, 364, 369
- India League (London), 360
- Indian Air Force, 20, 47-48, 54 fn, 57, 83 & fn, 86, 88
- Indian Army, 4, 20, 47-48, 50 fn, 54 fn, 64, 84, 88, 96 fn, 100, 105, 236-237, 418 ; G.O.C. -in -C. of, 418 ; Infantry Division of, 85 fn; Western Command of, 85 fn
- Indian Association of France (Paris), 288 fn
- Indian Civil Service (I.C.S.), 198 fn, 352 fn
- Indian Independence Act (1947), 248, 255, 261, 265 & fn, 267
- Indian Medical Mission China (1938), 416 & fn
- Indian Medical Service (I.M.S.), 208 fn, 225 fn, 359 fn
- Indian Merchants Chamber, 188 fn
- Indian Military Academy (Dehra Dun), 4 & fn
- Indian National Army (I.N.A.), 195 & fn, 225 fn
- Indian National Trade Union Congress (I.N.T.U.C.), 437
- Indian Navy, 20, 259 & fn
- Indian News and Features Alliance (New Delhi), 311 fn
- Indian News Chronicle*, 407 fn
- Indian Police, 424 fn
- Indian Railways Enquiry Committee (1947), 438 fn
- Indian Railways Publicity Bureau, 347 fn
- Indian Science Congress Association, 439 & fn, 447
- Indian State Railways Service, 347 fn
- Indian Statistical Institute (Calcutta), 30
- Indian Technical Mission (1948), 16 fn
- Indian Union, 47-48, 51-52, 64, 66, 81 fn, 110, 114, 425
- Indo-China *see* Kampuchea
- Indo-Iranian Cultural Committee, 414 & fn
- Indonesia, East, 225 fn, 374 fn
- Indonesia, Republic of, 25 fn, 75, 224 & fn, 232-233, 251 fn, 272, 276-277, 282, 284, 295, 300-301, 304 fn, 307-308, 318, 326-327, 329, 336-337, 352 fn, 373-374, 375 & fn-376, 377 & fn-380

- & fn, 381-382 fn, 383, 385, 412 fn, 414 fn, 450; Army of, 232, 379-380 & fn; Government of, 225, 232, 276, 282, 326, 337, 374-375 & fn, 376-377, 380 & fn, 383 fn; Republicans in, 373 fn, 383
- Industry and Supply, Ministry of, 16, 95, 191, 207 & fn
- Information and Broadcasting, Ministry of, Press Department of, 219
- Inside Pakistan Occupied Kashmir* (P. N. Sharma), 353 fn
- Intelligence Bureau (Indian), 368
- Inter-Dominion Agreement (New Delhi, December 1948), 159, 238
- Inter-Dominion Conference (New Delhi, 6-14 December 1948), 9 & fn, 150, 157-159, 237-238, 345; Committee for Bengal and Punjab Partition matters, 9 fn; Committee for Border Dispute between East Bengal and West Bengal, between East Bengal and Assam and between East Punjab and West Punjab, 9 fn; Committee for Division of Museum Articles (Central), 9 fn; Economic Committee of, 9 fn; Evacuee Property Committee of, 9 fn; Life Insurance Committee of, 9 fn; proposed Press Committee of, 238 ; Stores Committee of, 9 fn
- Inter-Dominion Defence Secretaries Conference (Karachi, 26-27 November 1948), 64
- International Air Transport Association, 320 fn
- International Civil Aviation Organisation (I.C.A.O., Geneva), 304 fn, 320 & fn; South East Asia Regional Air Navigation Meeting of, 237 & fn, 320 fn, 446
- International Court of Justice (the Hague), 192, 257 fn-258 fn, 262 fn, 264 & fn
- International Law Commission, 415 fn
- International Meteorological Organisation, 304 fn, 320 fn; Asian Commission of, 304, Conference of, 237 & fn, 304 & fn
- International Military Tribunal (Tokyo), 233 & fn-234, 415 fn
- International Refugee Organisation, 381 fn
- Iran, 352 fn, 408 fn-409; Princess of see Pahlavi, Ashraf and Fatima; Shah of see Pahlavi, Mohammad Reza
- Iraq, 233 fn
- Ireland, Republic of, 36 fn, 235, 264, 315 -316, 399 & fn 401 & fn-402, 403, 433; Bill of, 235, 399, 401 & fn, 403; External Relations Act of, 399 fn, 402; Government of, 402
- Italy, 412 fn
- Jagadhri, 135 fn
- Jah, Azam, 96 & fn
- , Muazzam, 96 & fn
- , Mufakkam, 96 & fn
- Jain, Raj Krishan, 157
- Jaina school, 448
- Jaipur, 6 fn, 10 fn, 24 fn-26 fn, 76, 128, 157 fn, 230, 269, 340, 434, 449
- Jaipur House (New Delhi), 97, 358-359 fn, 393
- Jaipur State, 358 fn-359
- Jakarta, 225, 373 fn, 375 fn-376, 378 fn
- Jamnagar, 451
- Jalna, 103 fn, 107
- Jamaica, 368 fn, 435 fn
- Jamhur* (Calcutta), 102 fn
- Jamia Millia Islamia (New Delhi), 107 & fn
- Jammu city ,15 fn, 448-449
- Jammu province, 49, 70, 72, 76, 270
- Jamuar, B.P., 199 fn
- Japan, 233 & fn, 277, 304 fn
- Java, 224 fn, 378 fn; East, 374 fn; Middle, 374 fn; West, 225 fn, 374 fn
- Jawaharlal Nehru—Letters to Chief Ministers*, Vol. 1 (ed. G. Parthasarathi), 223 fn
- Jayavarman VII, 5 fn
- Jerusalem, 275 & fn
- Jews, 275 fn, 319
- Jha, C.S., 418 fn
- Jhelum valley, 51, 73
- Jinnah, M.A., (Vol. I, p. 168), 152, 338
- Jodh Bai, 328 fn
- Jogjakarta, 272, 373 fn, 375 & fn, 383 & fn
- Jowett, William Allen, 400 & fn
- Jullundur, 448
- Jung, Ali Yavar, (VOL. I, P.588), 93 & fn, 115
- , Zain Yar, 93 & fn, 115
- Kabul, 417
- Kachru, Dwarkanath, (Vol. II, p. 269), 88 & fn
- Kak, Margaret, 82 & fn
- , Ramachandra, (Vol. 15, p. 372), 82 & fn

SELECTED WORKS OF JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

- Kalinga Airline, 375 fn
 Kaliurang, 375 fn, 378 fn
 Kamath, H.V., (*Vol. 9, p. 397*), 183 fn
 Kampuchea, 5, 231, 282, 301, 304 & fn,
 330, 337, 383, 414; Nationalist Govern-
 ment of, 282; French Government of,
 330, 383
 Kania, H.J., (*VOL. 3, P.174*), 198 & fn-
 200 & fn, 201-202
 Karachi, 48, 62-63 fn, 64 & fn, 74 fn, 151,
 345, 376, 408 & fn-409
 Karaka, D.F., (*Vol. 13, p. 416*), 219 fn
 Karen movement (Burma), 393 & fn
 Kargil, 48 & fn, 57, 64
 Karimuddin, Kazi Syed, 166 fn
 Karnal, 448
 Karnataka, 128 fn, 269, 439, 447, 450
 Kashmir, 9, 24, 37 fn-38, 41, 45, & fn-46,
 47-49, 51-52, 53 & fn-54 & fn, 57-59,
 60-61, 62 & fn-63 & fn, 64-65 & fn, 66
 -68, 69 fn-70, 71-72 & fn, 73, 75-76
 fn, 77, 81 & fn-82 & fn, 83-84, 88-89,
 94, 97, 125, 127, 131-132, 154; Govern-
 ment of, 45 fn, 55, 61, 67-68, 76 & fn,
 82, 88, 132, 214 fn, 225, 236 & fn-237,
 239, 253 fn-254, 270-272, 285-286,
 297, 312 fn, 314, 335 fn, 337-338 & fn,
 339-340, 345-346, 352 fn-353 fn, 359,
 384, 400, 411, 439, 450; State Army of,
 353
 Kashmir Association (Delhi), 83 fn
 Kashmir Emporium (Srinagar), 85
 Katju, Kailash Nath, (*Vol. 1, p. 154*), 211,
 351, 415, 434
 Kearney, J.D., 253 & fn
 Kenya, 368 fn, 412 fn
 Kerala High Court, 103 fn
 Khalatse, 48 fn
 Khan, Akbar Ali, 106 fn-107, & fn, 113 fn
 —, Liaquat Ali, (*Vol. 10, p. 356*), 41-43,
 47-48, 63, 72 fn, 94, 99, 101 & fn, 110
 & fn, 237, 245 fn, 247, 285-286, 310,
 314, 346 & fn-347, 359-360
 —, Yusuf Hussain, 103 & fn, 108
 Khanna, Mehr Chand, (*Vol. 14, p. 577*),
 144-145, 147-148
 Kher, B.G., (*Vol. 8, p. 279*), 217
 Khosla, A.N., (*VOL. 1, P. 368*), 18 & fn,
 22-23 & fn
 Khudai Khidmatgars, 346 fn
 King, Mackenzie, 59 fn
 Kingsway Hall (London), 360 fn, 363
 Kishenganga river, 46
 Koenigsberger, O.H., (*VOL.6, P.122*), 151
 & fn
 Konark, 434 & fn, 448-449
 Korbel, Josef, 55 fn, 59 fn, 67 fn, 69
 Kotli (Kashmir), 49, 87
 Kripalani, Sucheta, (*Vol. 9, p. 469*), 88
 Krishna, Kanwal, 81 fn
 Krishnamachari, T.T., (*VOL. 7, P. 447*),
 207 & fn
 Krishnan, K.S., (*Vol. 13, p. 605*), 439 fn
 Kucheng, 379 fn
 Kunzru, H.N., (*Vol. 1, p. 270*), 88-89, 185
 fn-186 & fn
 Kunzru Committee *see* Indian Railways
 Enquiry Committee (1947)
 Kuomintang, 224 fn, 231
 Kurukshetra, 127, 448-449
 Kurukshetra refugee camp, 127
 Kutch, 451; Maharao of *see* Madansinhji
 Labour, Ministry of, Transfer Bureau of, 208
 fn, 212 fn
 Labour Party (British), 362 fn
 Ladakh, 46-53, 57-58, 64, 68-69, 225, 236
 Lahore, 445
 Lahore High Court, 196 fn-197 fn
 Lake Constance, 321 fn
 Lake Success (New York), 71
 Lakshmi Narayan Temple (New Delhi), 5
 fn, 445
 Lal, Jagat Narain, (*Vol. 7, p. 657*), 133 fn
 Lall, A.S., (*Vol. 15, p. 604*), 206 & fn
 Lamping, A.T., 272 & fn
 Langenhove, Ferdinand Van, (*VOL. 5, P.*
 206), 112 & fn-113 & fn
 Lapstone (New South Wales, Australia), 237
 fn
 Lari, Z.H., 166 & fn
 Laski, Harold, (*Vol. 2, p. 401*), 297, 360 fn,
 362 & fn
 Latham, Hubert, 321 & fn
 Law, Ministry of, 41 fn
 Lebanon, 233 fn, 303 fn
 Leh, 48, 50, 58, 64, 87, 225, 236
 Lenin, V.I., (*Vol. 2, p. 210*), 302, 317
Letters to Neena (S.S. Ikramullah, 1951), 352
 fn
 Levi, Daniel, (*VOL.6, P.644*), 423 & fn-424
 fn
 Lie, Trygve H., (*VOL. 4, P. 407*), 55 fn, 424
 Lisbon, 353
 Lohia, Ram Manohar, (*Vol.7, p. 430*), 444 &
 fn

- Lok Sabha**, 107 fn, 395 fn
London, 1 fn, 35 fn, 37, 47, 63 & fn, 71, 82, 84, 93, 97, fn-98, 99-100, 101 & fn, 113 fn, 206, 208 fn, 213, 217, 224, 232, 245 fn-247 fn, 250, 252, 259, 263 fn, 284-285, 296 & fn-297, 298, 300, 308, 312 & fn, 316, 330, 339-340, 347 fn, 357, 360 fn, 364 & fn, 367-368 fn, 369 fn-370, 374-377, 407, 431, 433 fn
 —— airport *see* Heathrow airport (London)
Looking Ahead (H. Pollitt), 216 fn
Lotus Trust, 188 fn
Louvre (Paris), 432 & fn
Louw, E.H., 312 & fn
Lozano, Alfredo, 50 & fn, 60 & fn-61, 62, 74-75, 76 & fn
Lucerne, 321 fn
Lucknow, 439 fn, 447; University of, 447
Ludhiana, 126
Lutyens, Edwin, 95 fn

MacArthur, Gen. Douglas, (VOL. 7, P. 253), 415 fn
MacBride, Sean, 316 & fn, 399 & fn, 403
MacDonald, Malcolm John, (VOL.2, P. 85), 278 & fn
Macqueen, Sarah, 83
Madansinhji (Maharao of Kutch), 451 & fn
Madiun (Indonesia), 224 fn, 255, 378 fn
Madras province, 34 & fn, 104, 108 fn, 128 fn, 395 fn, 423, 448-449; Government of, 34 & fn, 394-395 fn, 396, 423; Legislative Assembly of, 395 fn
Madura, 374 fn
Mahabharata, 378 fn
Mahajan, M.C., (VOL.4, P.463), 197
Mahananobis, P.C., (Vol. 11, p. 293), 30& fn
Maharashtra, 128, 448 fn
Mahe, 308-309, 424
Maheskar, Govind Rao, 107 fn
Mahmud, Syed, (Vol. 1, p. 170), 443
Malabar, 34 fn
Malan, D.F., 246 fn
Malay *see* Malaysia
Malaysia, 251, 277-278 & fn, 301, 304 fn, 317, 335-336, 368 & fn, 378 fn, 414 fn; Government of, 278 fn
Malta, 141, 211, 258, 393
Manchuria, 231
Manicktola (Calcutta), 227 fn
Manipur, 393
Manley, N.W., 435 & fn
Mao Zedong, (Vol. 10, p. 75), 68 fn, 416 & fn
March (Bombay), 219 & fn
Marol, 64
Marshall, George C., (VOL.1, P.566), 246 360 & fn, 382
Marshall Aid Plan, 272, 337, 382 & fn
Marx, Karl., (Vol. 1, p. 140), 302, 317
Mathai, M.O., (Vol. 15, p. 385), 262
Matthai, John, (Vol. 15, p. 101), 29, 153-154 fn, 193-194, & fn, 206, 251, 349, 367, 376, 437
Mavalankar, G.V., (VOL. 2, P. 614), 168 & fn, 184
Mcnaughton, Gen., of Canada, 59 fn
Masani, M.R., (Vol. 6, p. 135), 434 & fn —, *Shakuntala*, 434
Mecca, 410
Meerut city, 10 & fn
Mehruli (New Delhi), 134 & fn
Mende, Dr., 255 & fn
Mendhar, 57, 70, 236, 270
Menon, K.P.S., (Vol. 15, p. 326), 439, 447 —, Lakshmi N., 299 & fn —, V.K. Krishna, (Vol. 7, p. 15), 17, 37, 44-45 & fn, 46, 49, 51-52 & fn, 53 fn, 63 fn, 66 & fn-67 fn, 76-77, 94-95, 97 fn-98, 105, 113 fn, 116 & fn, 143, 183 & fn, 206 & fn, 248, 253 & fn-254, 255-257, 258 fn, 260 & fn, 262 & fn, 265-267, 269 & fn-270, 271 & fn, 298, 300, 330, 363-364, 368 & fn-369 fn, 399-400, 424 fn, 431, 449 —, V.P., (VOL.2, P. 114), 106& fn, 109 & fn-110 fn, 117, 155 fn, 269
Meredith, H.R., 198 & fn-199
Messervy, Frank Walter, (VOL.2, P.309), 48 & fn, 64
Mexico, 233 fn, 294
Middle East *see* Asia, West
Mirpur, 47, 49, 54 fn, 57, 87
Mirza, Fareed, 106 fn-107 fn, 113 fn
Misra, Mahesh Dutt, 452 fn
Misri, M. Abdulla, 102 fn, 106 fn, 113
Mitra, D.N., 97 & fn —, Raghbir Sharan, 169 fn
Mohammad, Abdulla Peer, 95 fn —, Bakshi Ghulam, (Vol. 9, p. 440), 74 & fn
Monazite Processing Factory (proposed)

SELECTED WORKS OF JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

- (Travancore), 370
Monckton, Walter, (VOL.4, P.28), 93 & fn-94 & fn, 97 & fn-98, 105, 116 & fn, 269, 360
Montgomery, B.L., (*Vol. 14, p. 28*), 284 fn
Mookerjee, Syama Prasad, (*Vol. 11, p. 739*) 15-16 fn, 124 & fn, 207 & fn, 210
Mookherjee, H.C., (*Vol. 10, p. 383*), 173 & fn, 184, 401 & fn
Morocco, 319, 352
Moscow, 345, 411 & fn, 450
Motamedi, Ali, 409 & fn
Mountbatten, Edwina, first countess, (VOL. 3, P.43), 82-83 & fn, 86, 141 & fn, 154, 211, 259 fn, 262, 287, 300-301, 363, 431-432, 434, 448
—, Louis, first earl, (*Vol.13, p.279*), 82, 97, 141, 211, 213, 258 & fn, 300, 358-359 & fn, 362-363, 393 & fn, 432
—, Pamela, (VOL.6, P.358), 432
Mudaliar, A.R., (*Vol.15, p.299*), 94 & fn
Mudie, R.F., (*Vol.5, p.143*), 66
Mughal Empire, 328 fn
Mumtaj Mahal *see* Arjumand Banu Begum
Muslim League, All India, 125-126, 131, 240
Muslim Leaguer, 121, 352
Muzaffarabad, 46, 87
Mysore *see* Karnataka

Nagpur, 143 fn, 239 fn
Naidu, Padmaja, (*Vol.2, p.226*), 102 & fn
Naini prison, 211
Namibia, 233 & fn, 236, 312, 413 & fn-414, 415 fn, 446
Nanak Dev, Guru, (*Vol. 8, p. 625*), 123
Nanded, 103 fn, 106 fn-107 fn
Nanking, 68 fn, 231, 379 fn, 381 fn, 416
Naoroji, Khurshed, (*Vol.5, p.134*), 450
Narayan, Jayaprakash, (*Vol.4, p.305*), 239 fn
Narayani, S.S., 194 fn
Narendra Deva, (*Vol. 4, p. 367*), 444
Narielwala, P.A., 445
National Flag, 366
National Conference (Kashmir), Srinagar Convention of (October 1948), 81 & fn
National Minority Movement (British), 216 fn
National Savings Scheme, 17
Naushahra, 76
Navy, Royal British, 259, Royal Indian, (R.I.N.), 366
Nehru, Jawaharlal, 10 fn, 22, 25-26, fn, 28 fn, 36 fn, 45 fn, 53 fn, 55 fn, 60 fn, 63 & fn, 65 fn-67 fn, 76 fn, 106 fn, 108 fn-109 fn, 113 fn, 116 fn-117, 121 & fn, 123 fn, 126 fn, 135 fn-136, 142, 145, 149, 151 fn, 153 & fn, 163 fn, 173 fn, 181 fn, 191 fn, 199 fn, 205 fn-206 fn, 208 fn-209, 237 fn, 245 & fn-246 & fn, 247, 248 fn, 249-250, 253 fn, 255 fn, 257 fn-258 fn, 260 fn, 262 fn, 264 fn, 266-267, 269 fn-271 fn, 276-277, 279-283, 284 & fn, 308, 310-312, 314 & fn-315, 316, 318-319, 321 fn, 331, 341 fn, 353 fn, 357, 360 fn-361 fn, 373 fn, 377 fn-378 fn, 380 fn, 383 fn, 394, 400 fn, 409, 411 fn, 417 fn, 419 fn, 426 fn, 433 fn, 437-438 & fn, 439 fn-440 fn, 445 fn, 447 fn, 453 & fn-454
—, addresses Indian students at India House, London, 1, cadets at the I.M.A., Dehra Dun, 4, 55th session of the Indian National Congress, Jaipur, 6-9, 157-160, 169, 331-335, 383,384, annual meeting of the Central Board of Irrigation, New Delhi, 18-24, kisan conference, Jaipur, 24-26, scientists in London, 35, a Sikh assembly in Delhi, 123, U.N. General Assembly in Paris, 290-295, session of Asian Commission of the International Meteorological Organisation, New Delhi, 304-305; attends, silver jubilee celebrations of *Tej*, New Delhi, 2, Delhi Provincial Conference of Social Work, 3, a reception given by the Kashmir Association of Delhi, 83-84, a reception by Indian Association of France, Paris, 288-289, a reception by India League at Kingsway Hall, London, 360-364, Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference (1948) in London, 245-247, 276-284, 357-358, 389; broadcasts from the B.B.C., London, 365; drafts resolutions for A.I.C.C., the Message, 10-11, on economic programme of the Congress, 26-28, on victims of partition, 135, on communalism, 136-137, on foreign policy, 341-342 on Indonesia, 385, on Indians in South Africa, 419, on foreign possessions in India, 426-427, merger of States, 452, on public conduct, 452-454; inaugurates, exhibition of paintings by Kanwal Krishna, New Delhi, 88, South East Asia Regional Air Navigation Conference of International Civil Aviation Organisation, New Delhi,

320 - 324; moves resolution 'The Message' at the A.I.C.C. session, 10-11; participates, in *Gita Jayanti* celebrations, New Delhi 5-6, in the discussion on draft Constitution in the Constituent Assembly, 173-183, 185-187; speaks on Eire Act in the Constituent Assembly, 401-403, on resolution on foreign possessions in India in Subjects Committee, 425-426; talks to journalists, at Cairo airport, 275, 295, at a press conference in Delhi, 305-320, 436-438, at London airport, 357

—, on abducted women, recovery and rehabilitation of, 153-154, 158; action and reaction, 289; administration, 19, 228-229, administrative services, 19-20, recruitment procedure of, 209, 213; Afghans, grant of visas to, 417; Africans, closure ties with, 412; Agra, 328; Ahmed, Enver, cartoon on South Africa by, 439; aircraft, 321, 324; Alagappan, S.C., 377-378; alignment of nations, 331; allotment of land to Harilal, 447-448; ambassadorial assistance among Commonwealth countries, 266; ambassadors, 345, 411-412, 414; Angkor Wat, 5 ; M.A. Ansari's house in Delhi, Gandhiji's and Congress' association with, 156-157; appointments, 191-192, 196-198, 200-201, 208, and alleged favouritism, 207-208, 210; Arab League, 319; Arabs and Jews, 319, 407; armed forces personnel, 132, duties of, 4 ; Arthur Lall, 206, transfer of, 206-207; Asia, 237, 288, 291, 295, 297, 326, and world affairs, 291, imperialism in, 383, importance of, 288-289, regional cooperation among countries of, 306-307, 324, situation in, 329-331, West, and Pan-Islamic movement, 319-320; Asian Relations Conference, 307; Assam, 393; aviation, 320-322, progress in, 321-322; "Azad Kashmir", 47, 61, 68; Azzam Pasha, 310; Bajpai, G.S. and his overstay abroad, 300; Bertia Shah Gilani, 211; Bengal, East, 9, 410, economic and political conditions in, 345, exodus from, 43, 143, 149-150, 157-160, 226-228, 345, 410, harassment of relief workers in, 143, 228, Hindu refugees from, 43, 143, 286-287, 346, 348-350, problems before, 157, property of, 348-349, proposed tribunal to deal with, 348-349, retaliation measures by West Bengal aga-

inst, 151-152; Bengali as court language in Bihar, 163; Berlin crisis, 224, 230, 283-284; Bey, Ismail Kamal, 310; Bihar, 32-33, boat tragedy at Patna in, 194, Government of, and its judiciary, 198-200, language problem in, 163-165, and provincialism, 164, zamindari abolition in, 32-33; Britain, 70-71, 205, 249-252, 260-261, 264-265, 333-334, 357-370, aide-memoire of Chancellor of Exchequer of, 367, economic condition in, 357-358, proposed purchase of Jaipur House by, 358-359; British imperialism, 334; British Nationality Act (1948), 261, 263; British policy towards, Asia, 340, India, 340, Kashmir, 339-340; bureaucracy and red tapism, 144-145; Buddha, 5, relics from Sri Lanka of, 447; Buria, 134; Burma, 336, Communist and Karen movements in, 276-277, 301, 317, 393, Government of, 234, 394-396, Land Nationalisation Act (1948) of, 234, 393-395, and its effect on economy of South India, 393-396, and Indian interests in, 234-235, 394-396, and, proposed visit of Indian delegation to, 234, 395-396, situation in, 393; Cabinet, meetings of, presence of officials in, 192, Priorities Committee of, 30-31, 193, 293, consideration of decision of, 194-195; Calcutta, communal riot in, 227; Capital punishment and mercy petition, 204; Central Board of Irrigation, 23-24; Central Pay Commission, 436; Central Statistical Organisation, 29-30, Chandanagore, 309; Charles, Prince, observance on the occasion of birth of, 366 ; China, 224, 230, 335-336, 379, 381, Nationalist Government (Kuomintang) of, 231, 335-336, 416, situation in, 224, 230-232, 329, 336, 379, 381, 416; Churchill, 311; civil services, 19-20, 228-229; citizens' duties and responsibilities, 175-176, 325; civil liberties, 275; colonialism and imperialism, 282, 331, 383-384, struggle against, 292; commerce and trade routes, 323 ; Commerce, Ministry of, 191, 207; Commonwealth, and British Crown, 260-265, 267, and opposition to, 255-256, 260, and India, 72, 224, 235, 245-246, 248-257, 259-270, 279, 296, 327, 332-333, 339-342, 359, 365, India's memorandum on, 250-252, 266-267; Commonwealth Governments, 247, ambassadorial assistance among, 266; Co-

monwealth nationality, 245, 253, 340, and citizenship, 249, 260-267, 269; Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference, 94, 245, 247, 250, 305; Commonwealth relations, 248-250, and India's approach, 259-260; communal demands, by Muslims, 126-127, by Sikhs, 124-127, 152; communal riots, 121, 227; communal unity, 350; communalism, 6-7, 121-133, 136, 240, 287-288; communication, 324; communism, 224, 276-278, 280, 283, 316-318, 330, his leaning towards, 302, in Asia, 280-281, in Russia, 280; Communist Party of India, 301-303; Communist Party of Britain, 216-217; Communists, 25, 218, 276-278, 301-303, 316-318, 336-337, arrest of, 218, in Asia, 275-276, 301, 316-318, in Britain, 216, 287, in Burma, 276-277, 317, 393, in China, 224, 230-231, 316-317, 335-336, 368, 416-417, in India, 25, 105, 218, 301-302, 335, in Indonesia, 224, 276-277, 301-302, 316-318, 378, in Malaysia, 277-278, 316, 318, 336, in South-East Asia, 275, 277, 316-317, 335-337; composite culture, 136; Congress, 8-10, 25-26, 131, 135-137, 157-159, 169, 253, 255, 260, 268, 271, 325, 333-334, 339-342, 383-385, 426-427, 437-439, 452-454, and freedom struggle, 325, and minorities, 133, and secularism, 288, and Sikhs, 131, 133, and Socialists, 25-26, and Vallabhbhai Patel, 438, and victims of freedom struggle, 195, and victims of partition, 135, and zamindari abolition bills, 240, opponents of, 109, 128, Party post in, and ministerial status, 205-206, weakness of, 333, Jaipur session of, 67, 230, 261, 269, 339-342, 383-385, 419, 439, 442, 447, 449-450, 452, resolutions passed at, on communalism, 136-137, on economic programme of, 26-28, on foreign policy, 341-342, on foreign possessions, 426-427, on Indians in South Africa, 419, on Indonesia, 385, on merger of States, 452, The Message, 10-11, on public conduct of Congressmen, 452-454, on victims of partition, 135; Congressmen, 159-160, 452-454, criticism of, 384, 450; Congress Parliamentary Party, 260; Congress Working Committee, 270; Constitution, 173, 178, 265, 267, Draft of, 174, 238, flexibility of, 179-180, 185-186, Objectives Resolution for framing of, 173, 176, 178-

180; Constituent Assembly, 230, 238, presidentship of, 184, 245, 252; controls on food and cloth, 34, 238; cooperation and coordination, 29, 230, 360; cultural contacts, 414; Czechoslovakia, 407; defence, 4, 247; Delhi, 3, communal riots in, 121-122, importance of 3, rehabilitation of refugees and repair of refugee houses in, 146-147, 151, *dargah* of Qutub Shah in, 134, preservation of M.A. Ansari's house in, 156-157, situation in, 129, strike in, 226-227; democracy, 8; Dhirajlal Desai, 298; detention without trial, 217-218; Digvijaysinhji, 299; disarmament plan and monitoring of, 303; discipline, 1; disparities in income and salary, 201-203; disruptive forces, 302, 335; documentary films, 328; economic freedom and development, 279, 283; economic problems, 292; economic situation and strike, 239; economy, 26, 300, 307, capitalist, 280; education, importance of and budgetary provision for, 193-195; Eire, 316, 399-403; embassies abroad, 297-298, 300; engineers, responsibilities of, 23; equality, 292, racial, 325; Europe, 323, culture and civilization of, 291, domination of world by, 289, problems before, 230, 283-284, 291, situation in, 224, 230, tour of, 223; faith, 23; fascism, 341; favouritism, 207-208, 210; Fazal, Cyril P.K., 417; fear, 108, 292-293, 295; Federal Public Service Commission, 35-36, role of, 209, 213; Ferguson tractors, 36-38; foreign offices, 297-298, 300, external publicity by, 328, documentary films for, 328; foreign policy of India, 324-328, 331-335, towards, Britain, 156, 224, 252, 285, 323, China, 230-231, 335-336, 416, East Asia, 277, Indonesia, 225, 232-233, 282, 373-385, 449, South East Asia, 231, 247, 277, 295-296, 301-302, 308, 316, 322-324, 381-382, West Asia, 282, 285, 295-296, 319-320, 322-324; foreign possessions in India, 423-427, future of, 425-427, franchise in, 8, 424; fraternity, 364; freedom, 3, 8, 10, 290, 294, 327, 332-333, 361, 384, attainment of, 4, 325, 363, struggle for, 290, 361-362, sympathisers in Britain of, 363; French possessions in India, 308-309, 423, elections in, 424, future of, 423; friendship and goodwill, 245, 364; Gandhi,

Mahatma, 2, 5–6, 289, 293, 326, 350, 361–362, 364, and communalism, 7–8, 136–137, and nonviolence, 334, 350, 364, and concept of Satyagraha, 129, death of, 136, 361, 364, ideals of, 5–8, 332, leadership of, 10, life and message of, 137, 361, teachings of, 5–9, 11, 25, 137, 332; geography, 306, 322–323, 333; *Gita*, 5, teachings of, 5–6; Goa, 93, future of, and Monckton's proposal to have commercial partnership in, 93; Golwalkar, 287; good and evil, 289; Gopalaswami Ayyangar, 443; Government of India, assurances given by and fulfilment of, 146–147, employees of, and unrecognised association, 220, Seal of, Crest in, 183; Governor General, salary and allowances of, 209–210, 212; great powers, 293, 297, 330; greatness, 5–7; growth, 19, 279–280; Gurgaon, future of, 125; Habib, Mohammad, 299; Haj pilgrims 410; hard work 22, 24; Harry Pollitt, 216–217; proposed visit to India of, 217; High Commissioner, status of, 238; Himalayas, 4, 19; Hindi, 163–164, 167–169, translation of legal and technical words into, 23, and agitation favouring it as national language, 169; Hindu Mahasabha, Syama Prasad Mookerjee's resignation from, 124; Hindustani, 163–164, 167–168; his aim to become an aviator, 321, his birthday, 434, 438, 440, 442–445, his childhood reminiscences, 320–321; his proposed visit, to Hyderabad, 116, arrangements during, 117–118, to Kashmir, 84–85, his visit to Europe, 223, 296–300, 432, 434–435; historical processes, 306–307; history, 19, 294, 306, 321, 333, 361, changing nature of, 21, 306, 333, and India, 289; housing problem in Delhi, 146–147, 151; human affairs, 289; human history, 321–324; human resources, 28–31; humanity, 146; humility, 3; Hyderabad, 58, 93, 254, 285–287, 297, 312–314, 413, and West Asian countries, 104, and press, 99–100, 248, at the U.N., 312–314, communal situation in, 93, Communist atrocities in, 105, civil life in, 102–104, 106–109, 113–115, *Dawn's* misrepresentation of Ramananda Tirtha's statement on, 105, entry of pressmen into, 101–102, factual report to Van Langenhove on, 113–116, financial situation in, 114–115, functioning of Osmania University in, 104, 115–116, future of, 286, Indian Army in, role of, 100, 102, 107, Laik Ali's Ministry in, 114, linguistic areas in, 313, proposed division and redistribution of, 313–314, military administration in, 93, 100, 106, 114, status of the Nizam in, 286, transfers and changes made by, 103–104, Monckton's connection with, 94, 105, and his wish to visit, 93, Muslims in, dismissal and suspension of, 103, 108, protection of life and property of, 102, 107, 110, the Nizam's establishments in, 95, Osmania University in, 104, 115–116, Princesses and Grand Princes of the Nizam of, 96, proposed official visit by official from Pakistan to, 43, 102, press freedom in, 43, problems faced with, 93, reference to U.N. Security Council, 94, 237, retention of Monckton by the Nizam of, 97–98, and opinions of Rajagopalachari and Patel, 98, refugees in, 102, 107–108, rehabilitation of, 108–109, situation in, 43, 98, 104–116, reports on, 102–103, 106–110, countryside situation, and outlying areas of city of, 102–103, 106–108, 113, proper publicity on, 96–97, students from, 95, suggests a goodwill mission to, 106, transfer of funds from Westminster Bank accounts of the Nizam of, 110, 237, 357, 360, victims of radical changes in, 103, Western press and world-view about, 100–101, withdrawal of Indian representative to U.N., for discussion on, 94, Zahid Hussain's proposed visit to, 102, Zakir Hussain's brother and M.A. Ansari's nephew, 103; Hyderabad State Congress Committee, 117–118; imperialism, 276, 282, 334; Income Tax Investigation Commission, 437; independence, 290; India, and Asia, 223, 297, 325, 327, 332, and Eire, 315, and great powers, 293, and Indonesia, 225, 232–233, and world, 175–176, 285, 305, 327, relations with Britain, 156, 224, 252, 285, 323, British Commonwealth of Nations, 72, 224, 235, 245–246, 248–257, 259–270, 279, 296, 327, 332–333, 339–342, 365, Burma, 234–235, 393–396, China, 230–231, 335–336, 416, Czechoslovakia, 407, Eire, 399–403, Indonesia, 225, 232–233, 449, Iran, 408–409, Ireland, 399, 401–403, Malaysia, 277–278, 316, 318, 335, neighbouring countries, 234–235, Pakistan, 345–

353, South America, 297, South East Asia, 224-225, 231-232, 316, 323, Sri Lanka, 234-235, 311, U.S.A., 130, 205, 225, 272, 279, 281-283, 285, 298-299, 358, 377, 382, 441, U.S.S.R., 280-283, 285, 331, West Indies, 435, and world, 175-176, 296, ambassadors and delegates of, 297, 334-335, role of, 298-299, 329, as sea power, 323, Constitution of, and that of other countries, 178, composite culture of, 136, cooperation and coordination of work in, 29, 230, 360, disruptive forces in, 302, 335, developments in, 280, federal units or states of, 181-183, forces of construction and destruction in, 18, foreign establishments of, 297-298, possible economy in, 300, French possessions in, 308-309, 423-424, future of, 308-309, government employees, and unauthorised associations, 220, greatness of, 5-7, growth of, 19, 24, 26-29, 36, 279, 358, history of, 289, 323, internal peace in, 283, 334, 350, 364, legal profession and freedom struggle, 20, labour strike in, 24-26, 436-438, mineral resources of, 18, 283, 370, Muslims in, 121-122, 125, 127, Nationality Act of, 255, 263; partition of, 9-10, victims of, 135; people of, responsibilities of, 175-176, planning in, need of, 21, result thereof, 22, problems before, 21, 294, river valley resources in, 18-19, Satyagraha by R.S.S. in, 122, 128-129, 239, strength of, 5, survey of mineral resources in, 18, tasks ahead of, 1, trade and commerce in, 323-324; Indian ambassadors, 297-299, 329-335; Indian Army, successful military operation in Ladakh sector by, 46-53, 57-58, 64; India House (London), 297-298; Indian Air Force, 64, 83; Indian Independence Act (1947), 255, 261, 265, 267; I.M.A. and duties of a soldier, 4; Indian National Trade Union Congress, 437-438; Indo-British relations, 224, 357-358, 360-370, and cooperation, 156, Indo-Iranian relationship, 408-409, Indo-Pakistan cooperation, 157-160, 237; Indonesia, 225, 232-233, 273, 276, 282, 284, 295, 300-301, 307-308, 373-385, 449, airlifting (proposed) of leaders of Republic of, 374-376, British and American attitude towards crises in, 374, 378, 381-382, and support to the Dutch in, 337, 374, Communist activities

in, 276, 378, fear of military action by the Dutch in, 232, 330, 373, financial aid to, 376-377, future of, 336-337, India's support to, 225 449, the Netherlands' attitude towards, 232, 374, and negotiations with Mohammad Hatta of, 373-374, 380, resolution at Jaipur Congress on, 385, Republican Army of, 379-380, results of, 272, situation in, 307, 318, 326-327, 329-330, 373-375, 378; U.N. Good Offices Committee, proposals of, 336, 379-380, 382, attitude of, 375, U.S. representative's proposals for, 379, 382, use of Marshall Aid Plan money by the Netherlands in, 272; industrial worker, 436-437; industrialisation, 358; inflation, 226, 238-239, 436-438; Inter-Dominion Agreement (December 1948), 159, 238; Inter-Dominion Conference (6-14 December 1948), discussion and decisions of, 9, 157-159, 238, 345; international cooperation, 305, 324, 327; international organisations, 324; international problems, 280, 291, 294; international relations, 223, 280-281, 334, 408-409, 414; international rivalries, 326, ethics in, 281; Iran, Princesses of, 408-409; Ireland, Republic of, 235, 315-316, 399, 401-403, Bill of, 235, 399, 401, 403; isolation, 306, 323; Jaipur House, New Delhi, proposed sale of, 97, 358-359, and special status of Jaipur, 359; Jamsaheb, 191, 299; Japan, 277, Radha Binod Pal's dissenting judgment on war leaders of, 233; Jinnah, two-nation theory of, 338; journalism, irresponsibility in, 121, 214, 219, 228; judges, salaries of, 201, 203; judiciary, separation of executive from, 187, 198-200; Kampuchea, 337, 382; Kashmir, 97, 127, 132, 225-226, 236, 254, 270-272, 285-286, 297, 314, 337-338, 346, 384, 413, agricultural production in, 37-38, and Pakistan propaganda, 43, 50-51, 56-58, 66-68, 96, 99-100, 102, 105, British attitude towards 100, 102, 105, British attitude toward India regarding, 270-271, 339, 450, British officers' involvement in, 52, 66, 77, 339, charge against Indian Air Force of bombardment of hospital in, 83, 86, Indian Army in, 47, discussion with Liaquat Ali Khan on, 42-44, invasion of, 41, 45, 50-51, Messervy's speech advocating Pakistan's case on, 48, military help and success of Indian Army

in, 46–53, 57–58, 64, and Mahatma Gandhi's principle of peace and nonviolence, 84, military situation in, 9, 47–50, 52–53, 57–58, 64, 87, 236, National Conference's Convention at Srinagar in, 81, need for presence of Indian troops in, 47, 83, Pakistan Army's involvement in, 50–51, 57–58, 64, 67–68, 339, press attitude towards, 43, 50, plight of pandits in, 88–89, proposed talk with S.M. Abdullah on, 85, refugees of, 154, Security Council's resolution (17 January 1948) on, 42–50, and U.N. Commission on India and Pakistan (U.N.C.I.P.), 53, 338–339, change in attitude of, 81, proposals to the, 52–53, at U.N. Security Council, 70–71, 338, British Government attitude towards, 71–72, 450, discussions with Liaquat Ali Khan, 42–44, proposals for ceasefire, truce and plebiscite of, 41, 44–46, 48–49, 52, 54–56, 59–62, 66–69, 73–76, 285–286, report of, 236, India's consideration of, 44, reaction to, 54–56, acceptance of, 41, 50, Pakistan refusal of, 44, 50; Kampuchea, French role in, 337; Khanna, Mehr Chand and Dey, S.K., 144–145, 147–149; knowledge and wisdom, 322; Krishna Menon, V.K., 363, 431; Kurukshetra, refugee camp at, 127; labour, demands of organised, 436–437; Lakshmi Menon, 299; language question, 163–169, 177–178, 241, and Hindi, agitation favouring it as national language, 169, and Bengali, 163–164, and English, 168, and Hindustani, 163–164, 167–168, and Latin script, 165, problems facing, 241; Laski, Harold, 362; law and order, 216–220; Liaquat Ali Khan, objectionable speeches by, 99, visit to East Bengal of, 237; linguistic provinces, 177; Mahe, 308–309; Malaysia, anti-terrorist measures in, 368, Chinese in, 278, Communists in, 278, 301, 368, condition of labour in, 278, economic discontent in, 278, law and order in, 230–231, 335–336, plight of Indians in, 336, situation in, 68, 224, 230–232, 329, 335–336, 368, 379, 381, 416; Masani, M.R., 434; means and ends, 290, 322; meteorology, 304; military preparedness, 284; minerals, 18, 283, 370, survey of, 17; Ministers of State, appointment of, 205–206, status of, 205–206; Ministries, dealings and coordination between, 191; minorities, 133, 180–181; missions abroad, 297–298; monazite, processing and sale of, 370; monuments and faith, 23; morality and public conduct, 453–454; mother tongue as medium of instruction, 164; Mountbattens, 141, 300, 363, proposed visit of, 141, 448–449, role in relief work of, 142; Muslim League, 121, 125; Muslim Leaguers, alleged plan of coup in India by, 121; Muslims, in Alwar, Bharatpur, Buria and Gurgaon, 127, 155–156; Namibia, 233, 236, 312, 413–414, 446; Namibian issue at the U.N., 234, 236, India's attitude towards, 235; narrowmindedness, 333; nation building, 1, 229–230; National Savings Scheme, 17; national unity, 1; nationalism, imperialism and communism, 276–278; nationality, 245, 253, 255, 261, 263, 340; natural resources, tapping of, 18, 283, 370; Nayantara Pandit, venue of wedding of, 438; Nepal, Royal Army of, 418; the Netherlands, and Asia, 374, 378; non-violence, 334, 350, 364; official dinners and invitees, 446; opposition, 109, 128; Orissa, future visit to temples and places of interest in, 434; Osmania University, Muslim culture of, 104; painting and photography, 88; Pakistan, 314, and its Islamic character, 9, anti-India propaganda by, 51, 54–56, 58, 66–68, 96, 99–100, 102, 105, 248, 314, 349, 351, British Army officers in, 52, 66, 77, citizens' rights in, 9, claim for *char* lands by, 347, complicity in Kashmir invasion by, 50–51, 57, 64, 66–68, creation of, 9, denial of transit facilities by, 347, economic situation in, 345, harassment of Indian nationals by, 143, 228, Hindu citizens' rights in, 9, India's relations with, 345–353, Indians imprisoned in, 353, military built-up on Jammu and Poonch border by, 70, 72–73, 75, 270, military offensive by, 76, minority's plight in, 43, 143, 149–150, 157–160, 226–228, 348–350, offensive speeches at the U.N. by, 352, press in, 248, 314, refugees from, 67, return of population from, 270, 286, support by British officers to, 52, 66, 77; Radha Binod Pal's dissenting judgment on Tokyo trial, 233–234, 415–416; Palestine, 275, 318–319, 407, 409–410, 413, relief to refugees in, 409–410, resolutions on, 319; Pant, Apa, 412; Paris, 432; partition, 9–10, 345, aftermath of, 7, victims of,

SELECTED WORKS OF JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

135; Patel, 433, and his association with Congress, 438; Patiala, Maharaja of, 154; peace, 283, 294-295, and fraternity, 364; penicillin and drugs, manufacture of, 15-16; Pillai, T.G. Sanjeevi, visit to Britain of, 369; political freedom, 6; Polit, Harry, 216-217; power blocs, 293, 378; press, 2, 65, American, 130, British, 100-101, 130, 318, 368, foreign, 130, Indian 65, 121, 214-215, 228, criticism of civil servants' role by, 65, responsibilities of, 2, 65, role of, 2, Pakistani, 99-100, 314, 349; price rise, 226, 238-239, 436-437; Princes' houses in Delhi, 358; Priorities Committee, 30-31, 193, 239, Cabinet's consideration of decision of, 194-195; production, 24, 26-29, 36, 279, 358; progress, 19, 279-280; provinces, compositeness and homogeneity of, 123, redistribution of, 125; provincialism, 164, 228; provincial governments, autonomy to, 188; public conduct, 452; Punjab (undivided), 132; Punjab, East, Akali activities in, 268, future of Hindus in, 127, High Courts in, 216, appointment of judges to, 196-199, 200-201, 203, Hindu-Sikh position in, 127, situation in, 124-127, 130-131, tension between Hindus and Sikhs in, 127, Punjabi-speaking state in, demand for, 124-126; Qutub Shah shrine, damage to and repair of, 134; racial equality, 292, 325-326; Rajagopalachari, C., 203-204, 209-210, 212-213, salary of, 209-210, 212; Ramachandra Kak, charges against and release of, 82; Rashtrapati Bhawan, musical instruments in, 451; Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh, 265, 287-288, 303, 318, and communalism, 25-26, 122, 128-129, activities of, 122, 128-129, 239, Satyagraha by, 7, 129, 268; Rau, B.N., 299; refugees, 143, 146-147, 151, housing for, 146-147, 151, in Delhi, repair of houses at Anand Parbat, 146-147, 151, plight of, 208, problem of, 21, 149, 152; professional man-power among, 29, rehabilitation of, 141-159, statistics of, 28-29, 153-154, regional conferences, 247, regional cooperation, 323; Rehabilitation and Development Board, functions of, 144-148, 155-157; relief agencies, coordination among, 29-31; responsibility, 144-148, 175-176, 325; rights and privileges, 325; risks, 293-294; Satyagraha,

239; scarcity, 292; scientific research and growth, 35-36, 321, and temperament, 229; scientists, British, visit to India of, 229, and bureaucracy, 229, tenure of, 35-36; sea travel, 323-324; secular state, 287; secularism, 136, 287-288; self-confidence, 333; separatist tendencies, 180; servitude and independence, 332; Setalvad, M.C., 299; Sharma, P.N., 353; Shaw, G.B., proposed meeting with, 314, and nonfulfilment of, 433; Sheorey's appointment in Willingdon Hospital, 208; Shiva Rao, 299; Sikhs, 124-127, 240, 268, demands of, 123 125-127, 152, and Muslim League demands before partition, 125, and Tara Singh's speeches, 126, 131, 152, rights of, 240, terrorist activities in Hoshiarpur by, 127; Sind, conditions of non-Muslims in, 349, migration of refugees from, 208; Small Savings Scheme, 17; social work, 3; Socialists, 25; society, 19; solidarity, 11, 136, 350; South East Asia, 231, 247, 277, 295-296, 301-302, 308, 316, 322-324, 335-337, 381-382, and its relations with West Asia, 295, cultural relation with India of, 323, situation in, 224-225, 231-232, 330, Communist Party in, 301; South East Asian Students' Conference, 301; South Africa, 268, 310, 315, 327, resolution on, 419; South African Indian problems, 246, 419; sovereignty, 261, 265, 327, 341, dormant, 261; South America, countries of, 296-297, 332; Spain, 281-282; Sri Lanka, admission to U.N. of, 389, citizenship bill of, 234-235, 389-390, and Government of India's proposals to, 312, issue of citizenship to Indians in, 389-390, rights of people of Indian origin in, 235, 389-390, security of, 389; States, merger of, 452; statistical organisation, importance of, 29-30; statistics, 28-29, and coordination, 31, importance of, 30-31; strikes, 24-25, 436-438, by railways, 239; Suhrawardy, Shaheed, 349-350, income-tax assessment of, 349-351; Tara Singh, objectionable speeches by, 126, 131, 152; Taylor, A.C., 359; technology, 24; Thailand, 301; theocracy, 9; titles, 213-215; tolerance, 136; trade routes through land, sea and air, 323; trade unions, 437-438; U.C.R.W., 141-142; United Arab Republic, 310; United Nations Organisation, 282, 326, 334, importance

- of social contacts in, 299; India's adherence to the Charter of, 341; role of, 290-294; General Assembly of, 290; Indian delegation to, 252, 298; size of, 299-300; Hyderabad issue before, 58, 94, 111-112; and Indian standpoint, 111-116; Indian Delegation to, 252; issues before, 53; U.N. Palestine Committee, 318-319; U.S.A., 279-283; press in, 130; relations with, 130, 205, 225, 272, 279, 281-283, 298-299, 358, 377, 382, 441; unity, 11, 136; U.S.S.R., 280-283, 285, 331; Vijayalakshmi Pandit, 439, 446; Vijayaraghavachariar, 442; Vysinsky, A.Y., 311; Walter Monckton, 93, 97-98, 105; connection with Hyderabad of, 94, 105; war, 283-284, 292; and peace, 315; and strife, 326; West Indies, cricket team of, 435; Western music, 451; Western Powers, 378; Western Union, 308; Westminster Bank affair, 110, 237, 357, 360; wisdom 322; women, abduction of, 153-154, 158; Women's Conference, 431; Women's International Democratic Federation, 301; workers, 436-438; world, changing nature of, 327-328; World Order, 325-327; world peace, 315, 318; world problems, 245, 295; world situation, 20-21, 275, and India, 175-176, 285, 305, 327; World Wars, 6, 278, 289, 291, 316-317; youth, 20; zamindari system, 33; abolition of, 24, 31-32, 239-240, in Bihar, and compensation, 32-33; Zeppelin aircraft, 321
—, Mohanlal, 447 & fn
—, Motilal, 321 fn
Nepal, 418; Maharaja of *see* Rana, Padma Shamsher Jung Bahadur; Royal Army of, 418
Netherlands, the, 75 fn, 224-225 & fn, 272, 284, 336, 373 & fn-375 & fn, 377-378, 379 & fn-380 & fn, 381 fn-382 fn, 383 & fn, 450; Government of, 232, 272, 276, 329-330, 374, 378-379-383; Federal Armed Forces in Indonesia of, 380 & fn
New Delhi, 2 fn, 5 fn, 18 fn, 74 fn, 76 fn, 88 fn, 95 fn, 101, 121, 208 & fn, 237 & fn, 272 fn, 358-359, 390, 396 fn, 408 fn, 433 *see also* Delhi
New Delhi Municipal Committee, 226 fn
'New Kashmir', 81 fn
New South Wales (Australia), 237 fn
New York, 2 fn
New Zealand, 247 fn, 249 fn, 256 fn, 277, 339, 374 & fn-375; Government of, 402
Newfoundland, 249 fn
News Chronicle, 63 fn
Nilufer, 96 & fn
Nimitz, Chester W., 59 fn
Nishtar, Abdur Rab, (*Vol. 15, p. 212*), 154
Nizamabad, 103 fn, 107 fn
Nobel Peace Prize (1974), 399 fn
Noel-Baker, P.J., (*VOL.5, P.187*), 41-43, 380 & fn
North West Frontier Province (N.W.F.P.), 208 fn, 346 fn
Norway, 253, 412 fn
Nu, Thakin, (*VOL.4, P.452*), 234 & fn, 394-395, 396 fn
Nur Jehan, 328 fn
Nye, Archibald, (*VOL.3, P.51*), 46 & fn, 50-51, 71, 97, 257-258 & fn, 339, 358-359, 367 & fn, 450
Observatories, Meteorological, at Alibag, 304 fn, at Bombay, 304 fn
O'Kelly, Sean, 401 fn
Old Delhi *see* Delhi
Opera (Paris), 432
Organisation for European Economic Cooperation *see* European Economic Cooperation, Organisation for
Orissa, 107 fn, 434, 442
Osmanabad, 103 fn, 106
Osmania University, 103 fn-104 & fn, 115-116, 165 fn; translation bureau of, 104 & fn; publication department of, 104-
Pacific Ocean, 250-251 fn, 277
Padhi, P.C., 350 & fn
Pahlavi, Ashraf, 408 & fn, 439
—, Fatima, 408 & fn, 439
—, Mohammad Reza (Shah of Iran), 85-
& fn
Pai, A.V., (*Vol. 10, p. 44*), 42 & fn, 94, 147 & fn, 163 fn, 431
Pakistan, 6-7, 9, 41 & fn-42, 44 fn-45, 46-53, 54 & fn-55 fn, 56-57, 58 & fn-59, 62 & fn-63, 64-65 fn, 66-68, 69 & fn-70, 72 & fn-73, 74 & fn-75, 77, 81 fn, 84, 99, 101 & fn-102, 103, 110 & fn, 121, 126 fn, 143 & fn, 150, 152, 156-159, 166, 196, 228, 233, & fn, 236-
& fn-237, 240, 245 fn, 247 fn-248, 249

SELECTED WORKS OF JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

- fn, 255, 270-271, 285-286, 297, 304 fn, 310, 312, 314, 332, 337-338 & fn, 345-346 & fn, 347-349, 352 & fn-353 fn, 409, 413 fn, 418 fn; Government of, 55 fn-56 fn, 57, 59 fn, 61, 74 fn, 102 fn, 110, 151-152, 159, 227, 237, 247, 286, 351-352 fn
- Pakistan Army, 48, 50-51, 57, 64, 75, 236, 339; Headquarters of, 339
- Pakistan Times*, 374 fn, 418
- Pal, Radha Binod, 233 & fn, 415 & fn
- Palais de Chillot (Paris), 290
- Palam airport (New Delhi), 408 fn
- Palembang, 225 fn
- Palestine, 318-319 & fn, 407, 409, 413 ; Government of, 368 fn
- Palestine Police and Guards, 368
- Palestine Refugees Relief Fund, 409-410
- Pan-Islam, 319
- Panama, 233 fn
- Panch Mahal (Fatehpur Sikri), 328 fn
- Pandey, Lal Behari, 436 fn
- Pandit, Chandrakanta, (*Vol. 4, p. 331*), 85, 254
—, Nayantara, (*Vol. 4, p. 331*), 85, 254, 439, 450
—, Rita, (*Vol. 13, p. 14*), 85
—, Vijayalakshmi, (*Vol. 1, p. 1*), 44 fn, 52, 70 & fn, 89, 111, 192, 298, 303 & fn, 312 & fn, 345, 411 & fn, 413 & fn-414, 415 fn, 439, 446, 449-450
- Panikkar, K.M., (*Vol. 1, p. 384*), 416 & fn-417
- Pant, Apasaheb Balasaheb, 412 & fn
—, Pitambar, (*Vol. 15, p. 594*), 29
- Parasharaprasna* (Kapur Singh), 197 fn
- Parbatipur, 347
- Parbhani, 107
- Paris, 43-44 & fn, 47, 51-52, 56, 60, 62-63, 65 fn, 67-68, 74 fn, 81, 84, 89, 96, 98, 101, 214, 223, 232, 246, 248, 275, 284-285, 288 fn, 290 fn, 296 fn, 298-299 fn, 300, 307-308, 312 & fn, 321, 360, 373 fn, 375, 377, 393, 409, 411 fn, 415 fn, 424, 432 & fn-433, 450
- Parliament (British), 205 fn, 256 fn-258 fn, 287, 298, 403
—(Canadian), 111
—(Indian), 122, 205 fn, 257 fn, 267, 367, 400-401, 403
—(Sri Lankan), 389
- Parliament House (New Delhi), 147, 151
- Parry, W.E., 259 & fn
- Parthasarathi, G., 223 fn
- Parthasarathy, R.T. 442 fn
- Pasundan *see* Java, West
- Patel, Vallabhbhai, 15-16, 42-43, 94 & fn-95, 96-97, 100, 105-106 fn, 121 & fn, 143 & fn, 147, 154-155 fn, 181 fn, 184, 191, 196, 200-202, 204, 209 & fn-210, 212 & fn-213 & fn, 215-216, 220, 223, 245, 267, 269, 284, 346, 349, 352, 357, 359 fn, 393, 407, 423, 433, 438 & fn
- Patna, 33, 194 fn
— High Court, 197 fn-198 fn, 199 & fn-200 fn
- Pay Commission, Central, 436
- Payam* (Hyderabad), 102 fn
- Pearson, L.B., 111 & fn, 256 & fn, 265, 270 fn
- Pedang, 225 fn
- Pengpu, 379 fn, 381 fn
- Peoples National Party (Jamaica), 435 fn
- Peoples Volunteer Organisation (Burma), 393 fn
- Pethick-Lawrence, first baron, (*Vol. 14, p. 83*), 353 fn
- Philippines, the, 233 fn, 304 fn
- Pieta (Malta), 141
- Pillai, T.G. Sanjeevi, (*VOL. 4, P. 510*), 267, 368 fn-369 & fn
- Pimpri, 15 fn
- Pioneer, The* (Lucknow), 439 fn
- Poland, 233 fn, 303 fn
- Pollitt, Harry, 216 & fn-217
- Pondicherry, 424 fn
- Poonch, 42, 46-53, 54 fn, 57-58, 64, 73, 86-87, 225, 236, 286
- Poonch city, 236
- Position of Women, The*, (Lakshmi N. Menon, 1944), 299 fn
- Prasad, Mahabir, 32 fn
—, Rajendra, (*Vol. 3, p. 4*), 184 & fn, 195 & fn
- Prasada, Shankar, (*VOL. 7, P. 30*), 129, 157 & fn
- Prime Minister's National Relief Fund, 108
- Public Service Commission (Hyderabad), 114
- Public Works Department, (P.W.D.), 134
- Pundrik (Kapur Singh), 197 fn
- Punjab, 124 fn, 126 fn, 132
—, East, 6, 9 fn, 103, 124 & fn-125, 126 & fn-127 & fn, 128 fn, 131-132, 151

- fn-152, 160, 196 & fn, 198, 200-203, 216, 218, 240 & fn, 268, 312 fn, 448-449 ; Government of, 126 & fn-127 fn, 128, 133 & fn, 135 ; Legislative Assembly of Congress Party of, 126 fn, 240 fn
 —— High Court, 133 fn, 195 & fn-197 & fn, 200-203
 —— University, 197 fn
 ——, West, 6, 9 fn
 Puri, 434 fn
 Purohit, Nana, 218
 Pyarelal, (*Vol. I, p. 261*), 143, 228
- Qutub-ud-Din Bakhtiar Kaki, Khwaja, 134 fn; shrine of, 134 & fn
- Raghavan, N., (*Vol. 14, p. 365*), 373
- Railway Board, 347 & fn
- Railways, Ministry of, 347
- Rajagopalachari, C., (*Vol. I, p. 359*), 15, 82, 94 fn, 98, 105, 127-128, 141 & fn-142, 203-204 & fn, 208 & fn-209 & fn, 210, 212-213, 248, 259, 269, 348-349, 366, 440 & fn
- Rajasthan, 358 fn
- Rajauri, 53, 57
- Rajauri-Poonch region, 53, 57
- Rajya Sabha, 107 fn, 358 fn, 395 fn
- Ram Lal, (*Vol. 3, P. 35*), 97
- Ram Manohar Lohia Hospital (New Delhi), 208 & fn, 213 fn
- Ramayana*, 378 fn
- Rana, Padma Shamsher Jung Bahadur, (*Vol. 4, P. 481*), 418
- Randhawa, M.S., (*Vol. 4, P. 410*), 135 & fn
- Ranga, N.G., (*Vol. 7, p. 534*), 34
- Rangoon, 376, 396
- Rao, B. Shiva, (*Vol. 3, p. 345*), 299
- Rashtrapati Bhawan (New Delhi), 359, 366, 408-409, 446, 449, 451 & fn
- Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh (R.S.S.), 7, 25-25 fn, 121 & fn-122, 128 & fn-129 239, 268, 287 & fn-288 & fn, 303, 318 ; Satyagraha by, 239
- Rasul, Kudsia Aizaz, (*Vol. 6, P. 448*), 166 fn
- Rau, B.N., (*Vol. 14, p. 559*), 192, 198, 248 & fn, 258 fn-259, 264 fn, 267, 299, 399 & fn-400
- Rauf, M.A., (*Vol. 15, p. 296*), 393 & fn-394
- Razakars, 93, 113
- Razvi, S.M. Kasim, 93 & fn
- Red Cross, Indian, 353; International, 353 ; Pakistan, 353
- Red Fort (Agra), 328 fn
- Red Fort (Delhi), 121
- Reddi, B. Gopala, 394-395 & fn
- Reddiar, O.P. Ramaswami, (*VOL. 3, P. 20*), 394, 423 & fn
- Reed, Stanley, 361 fn
- Refugee and Rehabilitation, Ministry of, 29, 144-148, 155-156, 157 & fn
- Regional Research Laboratory (Jammu), 15 fn
- Rehabilitation and Development Board, 144-145, 148, 153
- Renville Truce Agreement (Indonesia), 383 fn
- Renown*, H.M.S., 259 fn
- Reuter, 377 fn
- Revolutionary Party, 195 fn
- Rhodesia, Southern, 249
- Rion Archipelago, 374 fn
- Rome, 323
- Roosevelt, Eleanor, (*Vol. 13, p. 275*), 447 & fn
- Roy. B.C., (*Vol. 4, p. 230*), 16 fn, 43, 149, 151, 287, 346-348, 351
- Royal College of Surgeons, Fellow of, (F.R.C.S.), 208 fn
- Royal Indian Air Force (R.I.A.F.), *see* Indian Air Force
- Rumbold, H.A.F., 69 & fn
- Sacred Writings of the Sikhs* (Kapur Singh), 197 fn
- Sahgal, Gautam, (*Vol. 5, P. 500*), 439
- Saksena, Mohanlal, (*Vol. I, p. 233*), 146 fn-147 & fn, 148-149, 154 fn-155, 444
- , Shibban Lal, (*Vol. 10, p. 172*), 220 & fn
- Saleem, M.Y., 106 fn-107 & fn, 113 fn
- Salem, 442 fn
- Salim, Hadji Agoes, 376 fn
- Sanatan Dharam College (Ambala), 445
- Sanjeevi Pillai, T.G., *see* Pillai, T.G. Sanjeevi
- Sankaran, G., 15 & fn
- Santahar, 347
- Saptshring* (Kapur Singh), 197 fn
- Sarabhai, Mridula, (*Vol. 5, p. 316*), 155
- Sargent, John, 193 fn
- Sargent's Scheme, 193 & fn

SELECTED WORKS OF JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

- Saudi Arabia, 233 fn
 Scheduled Castes, Sikh, 124 fn, 240 fn
 Schuman, Robert, (VOL. 7, P. 371), 246 & fn, 423 & fn
Searchlight, The, (Patna), 199
Select Correspondence of Sardar Patel (ed. V. Shankar), 223 fn
 Sejnoha, M. Jaroslav, (VOL. 5, P. 521), 407
 Senanayake, D.S., (Vol. 10, p. 484), 245 fn 247, 389-390
Serving My Time (H. Pollitt), 216 fn
 Setalvad M.C., (Vol. 15, p. 86), 60, 299
 Shafiq, Ahmad, 85 & fn, 408 & fn
 Shah, K.T., (Vol. 2, p. 399), 220
 Shah Jehan, 329 fn
 Shahrir, Sultan, (VOL. 1, P. 485), 272, 375-376 fn, 379
 Shakeri, Farrukh Sayer, 102 fn, 106 fn, 113 fn
 Shanghai, 68 fn, 231, 379 fn
 Shankar, Vidya, (VOL. 5, P. 267), 223 fn
 Sharma, Balakrishna, 169 fn
 —, P.N., 353 & fn
 Shastri, Hiralal, (Vol. 15, p. 246), 384
 Shaw, G.B., (Vol. I, p. 35), 314 & fn, 433 & fn
 Sheorey, B.K., 208 & fn, 213 fn
 Sherlock Holmes (fictional character), 211 & fn
"Sherlock Holmes saves an Indian from the Gallows" (Kailash Nath Katju), 211 fn
 Sherwani, H.K., 165 & fn
 Shone, T.A., (VOL. 4, P. 227), 71 & fn
 Siam see Thailand
 "Sikh Rej", 197 & fn
 Sikhs, 121, 123 fn-124 & fn, 125-126 fn, 127 & fn, 130-132, 152, 196, 198, 240 & fn, 268
 Sikkim, 412 fn
 Sillitoe, Percy, 369 & fn
 Sind, 208, 349
 Singapore, 368, 375 fn
 Singh, Baldev, (Vol. 14, p. 122), 41 fn-42, 124, 126 fn, 211 fn, 251
 —, Harnam, 197 & fn
 —, Kalwant, (VOL. 4, P. 329), 85 & fn
 —, Kapur, 133 & fn, 197 & fn
 —, Giani Kartar, (VOL. 6, P. 45), 130, 133
 —, L.P., 163 fn-164 fn
 —, Sawai Man, 358 & fn
 —, Master Tara, (Vol. 4, p. 572), 126 & fn-127 & fn, 130-131, 152, 196-197, 240 fn, 268
 —, Teja, 197 & fn
 —, Yadavendra (Maharaja of Patiala), (VOL. 3, P. 263), 155 & fn, 214 & fn
 Sinha, Satyanarayan, (VOL. 2, P. 17), 205 & fn-206 fn
 —, Sri Krishna, (Vol. 3, p. 420), 31, 33, 165 & fn, 194, 199
 Sitaramayya, B. Pattabhi, (Vol. 3, p. 265), 8 fn, 169 & fn, 234, 324, 395, 442
 Small Savings Scheme, 17
 Socialist Party, 133, 226 fn, 423 fn
 Socialists, 25
 Soekarno, A., (Vol. 14, p. 452), 75 & fn, 225, 232, 272, 376 fn-377 & fn, 378 fn, 450
 Soepono, Wiseko, 376
 Sokhey, S.S., (VOL. 1, P. 397), 15 & fn-16 & fn
 Sonepur, 194 fn
 South Africa, 25 fn, 233 & fn, 236, 246 & fn, 249 fn, 268, 310, 315, 334, 412 fn-413 fn, 419; Government of, 233 fn, 246 fn, 402 fn, 413 fn; Union of Namibia and, Government of, 312 fn, 419
 South East Asian Students' Conference (Calcutta), 301
 South Wales Circuit, 197 fn
 South West Africa see Namibia
 Spain, 281, 325
 Spens, Patrick, (VOL. 3, P. 174), 197
 Sri Lanka, 65 fn, 234 & fn-235, 245 fn, 247 fn, 249 fn-250, 251 fn, 304 fn, 310, 318, 389 & fn-390, 447 ; Government of, 234 fn-235, 247, 311, 389-390; Citizenship Bill of, 234 & fn, 311, 390, draft of, 390
 Sri Prakasa, (Vol. 2, p. 203), 48, 105, 143, 151, 154, 345
 Srinagar, 15 fn, 37-38, 81, 84-85, 88, 439, 448
 Srinagar airport, 84
 Stalin, Joseph, (Vol. 2, p. 397), 302, 317, 411 & fn-412, 433 fn
 States, Ministry of, 95, 155, 358
 States People's Conference, All India (A.I.S.P.C.), 117
Statesman, The, 62-63 & fn, 311 fn, 393 & fn

- Sterling Area Statistical Committee, 247
fn
- Stikker, Dirk, 375 fn
- Straits Times*, 380 fn
- Subedar, Manu, 188 & fn
- Suhrawardy, Hassan, (VOL. 1, P. 608), 352
fn
- , H.S., (*Vol. 5, p. 287*), 349–351, 352 & fn
- , Shahid, (*Vol. 8, p. 406*), 352
- Sumatra, 375; East, 225 fn, 374 fn; South,
225 fn, 374 fn
- Sun Fo, 68 fn
- Sun temple (Konark), 434 & fn
- Sundaram, K.V.K., (VOL. 2, P. 468), 418 &
fn
- Sunderlal, (*Vol. 4, p. 368*), 102 fn, 106 fn, 113
fn
- Supreme Court of India, 198 fn, 201–203
- Suryavarman II, 5 fn
- Sweden, 16 fn
- Switzerland, 321 fn, 370; Government of,
298
- Syria, 233 fn
- Taj Mahal (Agra), 328 & fn
- Tanganyika *see* Tanzania
- Tanjore, 34 fn
- Tanzania, 412 fn
- Tara Chand, (*Vol. 1, p. 331*), 195
- Tara Devi (Maharani of Kashmir), 154
- Taylor, A.C., 359 & fn
- Tata, J.R.D., (*Vol. 15, p. 100*), 299
- Teheran, 324, 408
- Tej (New Delhi), 2 fn
- Thailand, 5, 231, 301, 304 fn
- Thimayya, K.S., (VOL. 4, P. 13), 85 & fn
- Thivy, J.A., (*Vol. 15, p. 52*), 368 fn
- Times, The*, (London), 63 ; fn, 69 fn, 100–
101 fn
- Times of India, The*, 361
- Tirtha, Ramananda, (*Vol. 8, p. 41*), 105 & fn,
107 & fn, 117
- Tithwal, 46–49, 226
- Tojo, Hideki, 233 fn
- Tokyo, 233 fn, 415 & fn
- Transport, Ministry of, 347
- Travancore, 370
- Trivedi, C.M., (VOL. 3, P. 5), 126, 134
- Truman, Harry, S., (*Vol. 15, p. 297*), 2 fn
- Tunisia, 319
- Turkey, 233, 282
- Tyabji, Badruddin, 352 & fn
- Uganda, 412 fn
- Union of Soviet Socialist Republics
(U.S.S.R.), 216 fn, 224, 251 fn, 281–283,
284 fn–285, 296, 298, 303 fn, 316, 331, 389
fn, 411 fn, 417–418 & fn; embassy at
New Delhi of, 311
- United Arab Republic (U.A.R.), 233 fn,
310, 323, 411–412 fn, 414; Government
of, 298
- United Council for Relief and Welfare
(U.C.R.W.), 108, 128, 141 & fn–142
- United Nations Organisation (U.N.O.),
44 fn–45, fn, 46, 54, 58, 65 fn, 69 fn–70,
71 fn–72, 101, 110, 192, 246, 250–251
fn, 252, 271, 282–283, 290, 292–293,
295–296, 298–299 & fn, 300, 306–307,
311, 318–319 & fn, 326, 330, 334–335,
338, 341, 352 fn, 373 fn–374 fn, 375,
380 fn, 383, 389 & fn, 399 fn, 407, 409,
411 fn, 417–418 fn, 419 & fn, 432; Bud-
getary Committee of, 192 ; Charter of,
290–292, 294, 315, 326, 334, 341, 365,
383, 389, & fn, 419 ; Human Rights
Division of, 299 fn
- Commission for India and Pakistan
(U.N.C.I.P.), 41 & fn–42, 43–44 & fn,
45 & fn, 46, 50 & fn, 52 & fn, 54–55 &
fn, 56 & fn–57, 58–59 & fn, 60–64, 66–
67 & fn, 68–69, 72 fn–73, 74 & fn, 76 &
fn, 81, 89, 236, 285–286, 300, 338 &
fn–339, 384, 393; Plebiscite Commission
Resolution on ceasefire and truce of,
41, 52 fn, 74–75, 286
- Commission for Namibia, 399 fn
- Economic Commission for Asia and
the Far East (E.C.A.F.E.), Asian Re-
gional meeting of, 237
- General Assembly, 99, 111 fn, 192, 233
~ fn, 236, 275 & fn, 290–296, 298,
310, 312 fn, 352, 360, 368, 389 fn, 409,
411 fn, 413 fn, 418 & fn–419; Mexican
Resolution on Berlin crisis and peace,
294
- Good Offices Committee on Indonesia,
336, 375 fn, 378 fn–379, 380 & fn–
381 fn, 382, 439
- Palestine Conciliation Commission, 275;
Minority Report of, 318
- Security Council, 41–43, 45 & fn, 47

SELECTED WORKS OF JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

- 48, 53-54 & fn, 56, 58 & fn-59 & fn, 61, 66-67, 69-70, 74, 84, 89, 94, 111 & fn-113 & fn, 114, 230 fn, 236 & fn-237, 270-271, 303 fn, 312, 338 & fn, 373, 389 fn; Special Committee on Arabs of, 407; Trusteeship Council of, 413 fn; Committee on South Africa of, 233 fn, 312 fn, 334, 413 fn, 415 fn
- United Provinces, 34, 107 fn, 128 fn, 166 fn, 169 fn, 448-449; Legislative Assembly of, 166 fn
- United States of America, 2 fn, 16 & fn, 24, 36 fn, 59 fn, 130, 182, 225, 233 fn, 272, 276 & fn, 279, 281-283, 285, 288-289, 296, 298-299, 303-304 fn, 331, 336, 358, 370, 373 fn-374 & fn, 377, 381 & fn-382 & fn, 417, 432, 441; Government of, 225 fn, 232, 279, 329-330, 374, 379, 382; embassy in New Delhi of, 201; Navy of, 320 fn; State Department of, 381; Supreme Court of, 59 fn
- Uri, 46-49, 53, 226
- Uri-Tithwal region, 46-49
- Van Mook, V.J., 374 fn, 380 fn
- Varadachari, S., (VOL. 6, P. 396), 32 & fn
- Vellodi, M.K., (VOL. 2, P. 255), 44 & fn
- Vietnam, 337
- Vijayaraghavachariar, C., 442 & fn
- Vijaywada, 103 fn
- Vishnu, 440
- Vishnu Sahastranama*, 440 fn
- Vyshinsky, Andrei Y., (VOL. 5, P. 541), 246, 311, 360 & fn, 432 & fn
- Wardha, 184 fn
- Warner, E.P., 320 & fn
- Washington, 330, 374-375, 377, 411 fn
- Wayang*, 378 fn
- Wayang* set, 378 & fn
- Wenger, Otto, (VOL. 5, P. 118), 353 & fn
- West Indies, 435 & fn; cricket team of, 435 & fn
- Western Ghats, 448 fn
- Western Union, 282, 308, 318, 337, 381 & fn-382; Defence Scheme of, 318
- Westminster Bank (London), 97 & fn, 360
- Willingdon Hospital *see* Ram Manohar Lohia Hospital
- Win, U, 234, 395
- Women's Conference, All India, 299 fn, 302, 431
- Women's International Democratic Federation, 301-302, 431
- Works, Mines and Power, Ministry of, 146-147
- World Order, 325-326
- World War, First, 6, 225 fn, 253 fn, 259 fn, 289, 291
—, Second, 6, 15 fn, 216, 289, 291, 316-317, 330, 382 fn
—, "Third, 278
- Wright, Orville, 321 & fn
- , Wilbur, 321 & fn
- Yamuna river, 328 fn
- Yangtse river, 381 fn
- Young China Party, 224 fn
- Yugoslavia, 192
- Yunnan, 231
- Yunus, Mohammad, (*Vol. 10, p. 643*), 650
- Zafrullah Khan, M., (*Vol. 9, p. 394*), 50, 54 & fn, 59 & fn, 66, 68-69 fn, 71-72 & fn, 111 fn-112 fn, 114, 236 fn, 359, 400
- Zahidan (Iran), 408 fn
- Zeppelin airship, 321 & fn
- Zeppelin, Graf von Ferdinand, 321 & fn
- Zoji La, 48 & fn, 51, 53, 57, 85, 225

This volume covers nearly eleven weeks, from 6 October 1948 when Jawaharlal Nehru left India for London to attend the Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference, to 19 December when the annual session of the Indian National Congress at Jaipur concluded. Both the domestic and the world situation required constant vigilance as the crisis points remained at high pitch during this period. Europe was tense because of the Berlin crisis, China threatened to split with the Communist victory, Indonesia was fighting for its freedom against the Dutch, and in Kashmir, the U.N. Commission's truce proposals brought no settlement to the conflict. The migration of people from East to West Bengal intensified the problem of refugee rehabilitation, inflation was mounting and labour was restive. The communal activities of certain groups went against the declared policy of the Government.

In handling these issues Jawaharlal Nehru gave a lead in firmness and in peaceful approach. He advocated the causes of Indonesia and of the Africans against their alien rulers, favoured the continued membership of India in the Commonwealth and sought to protect Indian interests in neighbouring countries. Within India he laid stress on secular values and on the restructuring of the economy to meet the requirements of free India.

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